DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 041 974 UD 010 443

AUTHOR	Wilson, Walter
TITLE	A Syllabus for the Study of Selective Writings by W. E. B. Dubois.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. ERIC Clearinghouse on the Urban Disadvantaged.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.; Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Mar 70
NOTE	81p.
AVAILABLE FROM	ERIC-Informational Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. 10027
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$4.15
DESCRIPTORS	Bibliographies, Biographies, Black Power, Civil Rights, Colonialism, Essays, *Literary Analysis, *Literary Genres, Negro Leadership, *Negro Literature, Reading Material Selection, Speeches, *Teaching Guides, Writing
IDENTIFIERS	*Dubois (WEB)

ABSTRACT

This syllabus or teacher's guide to the life and works of Dr. W.E.B. Dubois has the following organization. An introductory section provides eulogies and tributes from important black and white leaders focusing on his stature as an educator, editor, sociologist, historian, statesman, social prophet, and race leader. The main body of the syllabus details references to writings of major importance, such as his 21 books, Atlanta Studies, editorials, essays, and creative work, and to major topics, such as peace, class struggle, lynching, education, civil rights, race pride, black power, colonialism, and voluntary separation. Aphorisms and short quotations are also included in this section. The address delivered by the Rev. William H. Melish at the Memorial Service of the late Dr. Dubois in Accra, Ghana, on Sunday, September 29, 1963 completes this section. An appendix carries a chronology of Dr. Dubois' life and accomplishments, and a bibliography grouped as books, magazine articles, pamphlets, chapters in anthologies, the 21 books, unpublished works, and biographies. (RJ)

ED041974

A SYLLABUS
FOR THE
STUDY OF SELECTIVE WRITINGS BY
W. E. B. DUBOIS

Prepared by
Walter Wilson
Co-Chairman of the DuBois Memorial Committee

with the Compliments of

THE STUDY OF
COLLEGIATE COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS
FOR MINORITY GROUP YOUTH

Teachers College • Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

UD 010443

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION
& WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

This report is one of a series of occasional papers distributed by the Study of Collegiate Compensatory Programs for Minority Group Youth for the information of those working in the field of collegiate-level programs for the disadvantaged. The series will include reports on objectives, developments, and results of a variety of such programs; in addition, relevant work from other sources will be reprinted and thus given wider dissemination. Included in the series are papers of a descriptive or evaluative nature, as well as more general discussions of problems relating to access to and progression through higher education for disadvantaged persons.

The Study of Collegiate Compensatory Programs for Minority Group Youth is a project of the Guidance Department of Teachers College, Columbia University, and is supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. This paper is distributed by the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, and additional copies are available from the Center, at Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027.

The Center is operated under a contract with the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) of the U. S. Office of Education, with additional support from the College Entrance Examination Board. Although research and IRCD projects are made possible by U. S. government contracts and grants from private foundations, the research and dissemination activities of the department and the Center reflect the opinions, judgment, and scholarship of staff and not necessarily the views or policy of the sponsors.

Edmund W. Gordon - Professor
and Department Chairman

Charles Leo Thomas - Instructor
and Project Associate

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Mr. Walter Wilson

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Not to be reproduced without permission of the author.

Copyright © 1970 by Walter Wilson.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1-3
Some Notes on the Life and Influence of W.E.B. DuBois	3-5
SECTION I	
Major Works	1-4
DuBois as Creative Writer	5-7
SECTION II	
Major Topics	1-9
SECTION III	
Aphorisms by W.E.B. DuBois	1-16
SECTION IV	
Address Delivered by the Rev. William Howard Melish at the Memorial Service of the Late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois at the Aggrey Memorial Church, Achimota College, Accra, Ghana, on Sunday, 29th September, 1963.	1-20

APPENDIX

A.	DuBois Chronology Summary	1-6
B.	Magazine Articles by W.E.B. DuBois Selected from the Fifty Major Publications to he Contributed.	1-5
C.	Bibliography: Selections from DuBois' Writings in THE CRISIS.	1-5
D.	DuBois Essays in Books Written by Others: A Selection	1-3
E.	Pamphlets or Pamphlet-Type Writing by W.E.B. DuBois	1-2
F.	Bibliography: The 21 Books by DuBois	1
G.	Biography (Bibliography of Unpublished Works)	1
H.	Biography (College Theses About DuBois)	1

OUTLINE FOR W.E.B. DUBOIS SYLLABUS

Introduction

1. Tributes from important black and white leaders. Eulogy of Dr. DuBois by Martin Luther King, Jr.

2. DuBois' stature as educator, author, editor, sociologist, historian, statesman, social prophet, and race leader. Most of what DuBois wrote and said is as relevant today as when he formulated his great ideas. For example, his prophecy made in 1903: "The problem of the 20th century is that of the color line." But no topic involving race-caste-class escaped his attention. Perhaps no American writer, white or black, ever enjoyed so great a revival of his writings as that currently shown in interest in DuBois.

Body of Syllabus

1. Detailed reference to his writings of major importance such as his twenty-one books; Atlanta Studies, editorials, essays, and creative work.

2. Detailed reference to his major topics, e.g.: peace, propaganda of history, class struggle, lynching, chain gangs, education, civil rights, Africa, race pride, black power, voluntary separation, colonialism, etc.

3. Aphorisms and short quotations. DuBois was master of the pithy, profound and timely expression.

Appendix

1. Chronology of his life and accomplishments.

2. Bibliography broken down by classes: A. books, B. magazine article C. pamphlets, D. chapters in anthologies, E. The Crisis writings, F., G., and H. bibliographies.

* * * *

A SYLLABUS OR TEACHER'S GUIDE

TO THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS

Introduction

William Edward Burghardt DuBois (1868-1963), father of the civil rights movement, was one of America's three great black leaders and one of the greatest Americans, black or white, of the 20th century. Educator, political writer, novelist, poet, sociologist, social prophet, humanitarian, historian, Pan-African, he earned tributes from many men:

"His determination to secure freedom for all peoples was the hallmark of his great and illustrious life."

John Hope Franklin, black historian.

"He is the voice of the twentieth-century civil rights movement."

Roy Wilkins, black, Secretary N.A.A.C.P., in his introduction to a recent reprint of DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk.*

"So many thousands of my generation were uplifted and inspired by the written and spoken words of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois that for me to say I was so inspired would hardly be unusual. My earliest memories of written words are those of DuBois and the Bible."

The late Langston Hughes, black poet-author.

"It was DuBois who was primarily responsible for guiding the Negro away from accommodation on racial segregation to militant opposition to any system which degraded black people by imposing upon them a restricted status."

Board of Directors, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1963.

"Through The Crisis DuBois helped shape my inner world to a degree impossible to imagine. . .For me, and for others, he was the Great Revelator."

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, black educator, son of a charter subscriber to *The Crisis* and father of civil rights and political leader, Julian Bond.

"In a real sense he was the architect of the Negroes' long fight for firstclass citizenship and when the victory is won, he must be accorded a lion's share of the credit."

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, black,
President, United Negro College Fund
Appeal and former president of Fisk
University.

"There is hardly a tendency in Negro politics today, but it owes something to DuBois."

Irving Howe, white critic.

The list of prominent men and women who have paid tribute to DuBois is long. It includes, to name only a few:

Paul Robeson
Charles H. Wesley, historian
William James, philosopher
Albert Bushnell Hart, historian
Van Wyck Brooks, literary historian and critic
John Gunther, historian and reporter
Lorraine Hansberry, playwright
William Branch, playwright
Kwame Nkruman, African statesman
Ruby Dee, actress
Ossie Davis, actor-director
Conor Cruise O'Brien, author, diplomat and scholar
Eugene O'Neill, playwright
Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish sociologist
William S. Braithwaite, educator
Howard K. Beale, historian
Edward Brooke, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts
A. Philip Randolph, labor leader
Howard W. Odum, sociologist
C.L.R. James, historian
Edmund W. Gordon, educator
George K. Murphy, Jr., editor-author

Perhaps the most impressive tribute ever paid to the work, life, and worldwide influence of Dr. DuBois was in the eulogy delivered on February 23, 1968, at Carnegie Hall in New York City by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The occasion was the international cultural evening sponsored by *Freedomways Magazine* honoring DuBois on the 100th anniversary of his birth. Some excerpts are quoted below:

History cannot ignore W.E.B. DuBois. Because history has to reflect truth, and Dr. DuBois was a tireless explorer and a gifted discoverer of social truths. His singular greatness lay in his quest for truth about his own people. There were very few scholars who concerned themselves with honest study of the black man, and he sought to fill this immense void.

He was proud of his people, not because their color endowed them with some vague greatness but because their concrete achievements in struggle had advanced humanity, and he saw and loved progressive humanity in all its hues, black, white, yellow, red, and brown.

It would be well to remind white America of its debt to Dr. DuBois. When they corrupted Negro history they distorted American history, because Negroes are too big a part of the building of this nation to be written out of it without destroying scientific history. White America, drenched with lies about Negroes, has lived too long in a fog of ignorance. Dr. DuBois gave them a gift of truth for which they should eternally be indebted to him.

Negroes have heavy tasks today. We were partially liberated and then re-enslaved. We have to fight again on old battle-fields, but our confidence is greater, our vision is clearer, and our ultimate victory surer because of the contributions a militant, passionate black giant left behind.

Dr. DuBois has left us, but he has not died. The spirit of freedom is not buried in the grave of the valiant.

* * * *

Some Notes on the Life and Influence of W.E.B. DuBois

W.E.B. DuBois, born in Massachusetts February 23, 1868, lived to the great age of 95. Even for so long a life, the list of his accomplishments is staggering.

He wrote twenty full-length books. He founded five magazines; one of them, *The Crisis*, was possibly the most influential periodical ever published in America, and he edited it for 24 years. He taught thousands of students in four colleges. He wrote hundreds of articles and essays for the fifty most important American magazines including *Harpers*, *The American Mercury*, *Foreign Affairs*, *New Republic*, *Colliers*, *Worlds Work*, &c.

He wrote countless editorials and many statements for organizations. He lectured ceaselessly at home and during 15 trips abroad. He wrote novels, short stories, poems, and plays; one of his dramas, *The Star of Ethiopia*, was highly successful and played to more than 100,000 persons.

He was a founder and moving force in the organization of six great Pan-African Congresses, beginning in 1900. He won the Spingarn Medal (an N.A.A.C.P. annual award in the name of the Spingarn family for distinguished service to the race) in 1920 for his work in the 1919 Congress in Paris. He helped establish the vanguard of the movement for the decolonization of Africa. For all this, in addition to his writings about Africa's history, her struggles, and her hopes, he has become a figure of reverence for the people of Africa.

DuBois founded the influential Niagara Movement, one of the first organized, consistent civil rights bodies in the United States. Using the strength and experience of the Niagara Movement, he was a prime mover in the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which the members of the Niagara Movement joined in a body.

The remarkable journal *The Crisis* grew out of two earlier DuBois publications, *The Moon* and *Horizon*. *The Crisis* in DuBois's hands became a great leavening influence in American life. He opened its pages to young black writers and artists and encouraged them in many ways — helping to create black literary and art associations and black drama groups, offering literary prizes, helping to form a black college students' association, and encouraging the highest forms of education for all black children and youth. Horace Mann Bond among others says that DuBois deserves most of the credit for creating the "Harlem Renaissance."

Despite all his great work, DuBois was denied recognition by the American white establishment, especially by the large white American universities which often honored Dr. DuBois's great opponent, Booker T. Washington. Harvard University, where he had earned his Ph.D. in 1896, never chose to recognize his accomplishment by conferring an honorary degree upon him (but it did on Booker T. Washington); but honors came to him from Charles University in Czechoslovakia, from the University of Berlin, from the University of Sophia in Bulgaria, and from Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, and Wilberforce in the United States. At his death he was Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Literature, Doctor of Economics, Doctor of the Humanities, Doctor of Historical Science. He was a member of a number of learned bodies including the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and the American Historical Association.

As the tributes quoted above would indicate, it is in truth impossible to teach about twentieth-century America without devoting much attention to the life and work of this great black educator and maker of history. This is especially true in the departments of sociology, history, political science, and Afro-American studies, but it is also true of other fields including communications and literature. Most of what DuBois wrote and said is as timely for educators and students today as when it was written. In fact, an examination of his work will show that many of the important ideas and even phrases current today in the fields of race, class, and social reform were first formulated by him: black is beautiful; Negroes have an illustrious history, and heritage; colonialsim is a major cause of war; peace is necessary before the solution of world problems can be seriously contemplated; black power; complete political, economic, and social equality — all these are to be found, many of them for the first time, in the works of DuBois. As Dr. Herbert Aphteker recently observed, we are now in the "Age of DuBois."

DuBois had a grand design for the creation of a proud and militant Negro intelligensia in America. He planned to reach the youth with publications and programs designed especially for them, and to educate or to re-educate the adults. He wrote and worked unceasingly toward this end, and to an immense extent, achieved it. To learn about his past influence and how it will be likely to extend into the future, we must turn to his writings.

We have divided the guide to his writings into three main sections. Section I is an annotated bibliography of his most influential books and studies. Section II deals with references to a selection of some of the main topics found in his works — together with specific references to book chapters, articles, essays, editorials treating those topics. Section III is a selected bibliography of further writings by DuBois; also important biographical references and a chronology of his life and work is included.

SECTION I

Major Works

This section of the three-part Syllabus is an annotated bibliography with commentary of some of the main works of DuBois, with suggested Chapter readings and topics for discussion. The books and studies selected for this special attention include *The Philadelphia Negro*, *the Souls of Black Folk*, *Darkwater*, *The Atlanta Studies* (monographs), the magazine *The Crisis*, *The Brownie's Book* (a magazine for children), *Black Reconstruction*, selections from the creative works, *Dusk of Dawn*, *John Brown*, works from DuBois's later and radical years, and the *Autobiography*.

The Souls of Black Folk, 1903

By the end of the nineteenth century black Americans had been beaten back toward slavery and despair. The Goliath of racism was apparently triumphant. Then in 1903 a small, dapper black youth stepped confidently and brightly into the twentieth century to champion his people. Into his sling this young black David fitted a small book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, and let it fly full in the face of Goliath, invoking his magic prophecy: "The problem of the twentieth century is that of the color line." From this weapon Goliath received his mortal blow, although he has been a long time dying.

The book *The Souls of Black Folk* contained only 192 pages and 14 brief essays or stories. Each contained an irresistible idea whose time had come. Since 1903 it has gone into something like thirty editions, and civil rights leaders agree that this little volume announced DuBois as the voice of the twentieth-century civil rights movement.

Of special interest are the chapters entitled "Of Booker T. Washington," "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," "Of the Dawn of Freedom," and "Of the Training of Black Men," and the short story "Of the Coming of John." "Of the Passing of the First-Born" is the moving account of the death of his three-year old son before he was hurt by racism.

Darkwater; Voices from within the Veil, 1920

275 pages, with ten main chapters. Chapter 1, "The Shadow of Years," is one of the author's best brief pieces of auto-biographical writing. Chapter 2, "Souls of White Folk," is a devastating expose of white racism, exploitation, and hypocrisy, and it contains the explosive prophecy of inter-racial violence unless whites were to give justice to the colored peoples of the world. The chapter entitled "The Damnation of Women," is a passionate statement of the beauty and strength of black women and the despicable attempts of white men to degrade them.

Darkwater also contains reprints of two famous creative works by DuBois, "A Litany at Atlanta," which is his poem about the 1906 massacre of Negroes in Atlanta, and his "Credo," written in 1904 and first published in *The Independent* magazine.

The Philadelphia Negro, 1899

This monumental early DuBois work marks the rise of scientific interest in black folk. It is still considered an indespensible book by sociologists. Until its appearance in 1899 dominant white opinion considered the Negro congenitally inferior. DuBois revealed many Negro problems "as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime, as a long historical development and not a transient occurrence." The problem of low accomplishment was a problem of the poor and dispossessed — racism, exploitation, poverty. The reader should look especially for his findings and conclusions on crime, education, housing, living conditions, sex, role of the white church, discrimination, white responsibility. See Chapters IX, XIII, XVI and XVIII.

The Atlanta Studies

The Atlanta Studies were made at Atlanta University between 1896 and 1912 by the Department of Sociology headed up by DuBois and yielded 16 pioneering sociological monographs on Negro life in the South. These were largely supervised, prepared, and written by Dr. DuBois.

Until recently these monographs were to be found only in a few large libraries. However, in 1968 *The New York Times*, under its Arno Press imprint, reissued the whole, consisting of more than 2000 pages, in its series *The American Negro: His History and Literature*. The vast inventory of facts in these studies stood DuBois in good stead throughout his career as educator and writer, especially as background for his articles and editorials in *The Crisis* (see below).

The whole series is worthy of study, but of particular value are the monographs on *The Negro Artisan*, *The Negro and Crime*, *The Negro Church*, *Negro Common Schools*, *Negro Political Power*, and *Negro Manners and Morals*.

The Brownie's Book, 1920-21

This was a short-lived but very influential magazine for children, published from January 1920 to December 1921. Of it DuBois later said, "I made one effort toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction; an attempt in *The Brownie's Book* to furnish a little magazine for Negro children. . .to make colored children realize that being colored is a normal, beautiful thing, to make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race. . .to seek to teach universal love and brotherhood for all little folk, black and brown and yellow and white." But he planned it

especially for his beloved "children of the sun." As usual DuBois strove for excellence. He used stories, poems, games, biographies of Negro greats, photographs of children, beautiful illustrations, American and world history (lots on Africa), current events — both national and international. DuBois himself did two columns (*The Judge* and *The Crow*). Langston Hughes contributed. So did Jesse Fausett, James Weldon Johnson and others. For a sample DuBois piece in the *Brownie's Book* see "Honey," August 1920, pp. 227-231. His daughter Nina Yolanda DuBois also wrote for "Brownies."

Also especially addressed to children were the annual October issues of *The Crisis* (see below).

Black Reconstruction in America, 1935

This extraordinary job of research, writing, and interpretation is still much the best history of the Reconstruction. Also it had probably the most impact on white students and historians, for, as Martin Luther King said, "he gave the whites truth where truth had been denied them." To enumerate all the important points by which DuBois revised the too-popular "lost cause" historical approach to the Civil War's aftermath is impossible here, but he demonstrated among other things that:

1. The Negroes helped win the war, and thereby *won* their own freedom: it was not handed to them.

2. Reconstruction was not a "tragic era," but the most hopeful effort ever made to carry out the promises of the Declaration of Independence. Reconstruction was a collective effort of the best people, northern and southern, rich and poor, black and white, to solve national problems and to make democracy work. These efforts were crushed by fraud, falsehood, intimidation, and force, especially the military power of the Ku Klux Klan, amidst the apathy or with the actual connivance of the entire white American power structure. If Reconstruction failed in face of the powerful reactionary forces opposing it, it represented a splendid failure.

Black Reconstruction is a seminal book that has received many tributes from historians as well as civil rights leaders. It deserves reading in its entirety; especially recommended are the chapters entitled "The Propaganda of History," "The Counter-Revolution of Property," and "Back toward Slavery."

Dusk of Dawn, 1940

This is another of DuBois's influential books. The subtitle, "An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept," gives us the theme. There is much personal autobiography in the volume, but it is more the story of any black person "within the veil." The personal material is in two chapters mainly: "A New England Boy and Reconstruction" and "The Concept of Race."

"The Colored World Within" is a fine exposition of what it was like to be any black person in the United States up to 1940. An invaluable chapter, mistitled "Propaganda and World War," is an engrossing history of the modern, militant civil rights movement, its causes, and the role Dr. DuBois and many of his colleagues played in it. Chapters V and IX deal movingly with how and when DuBois "first set foot on African soil."

The Crisis, 1910-34 (years DuBois was editor)

Dr. DuBois founded *The Crisis* in 1910 and edited it through 1934. For almost a quarter of a century *The Crisis* was the clarion to black America. Awake! Take pride! We have a bright history! We are beautiful! Black power! To the colored races belong the future! DuBois's essays, criticism, editorials, columns, stories, and poems gave the magazine such impact that it became one of the most important and influential publications the country has known and DuBois *was The Crisis*.

DuBois's tireless pen touched effectively almost every topic of interest to struggling humanity — of all nations and hues. He wrote often on: education, civil rights, Africa, crime, lynching, colonialism, chain gangs, intermarriage, social reform other than race, social equality, social problems, the class struggle, propaganda and education, science, history, Russia, politics, Negro migration to cities, organized labor, heroes and villians, the foreignborn, women's suffrage, Negro leadership, Negro self-segregation, the League of Nations, war, peace, the Negro church, self-defense, Negro self-betterment, the white church (usually its hypocrisy), Negro co-ops, children, nature, poor whites, white liberals, Southern civilization, white philanthropy. In 1934 the national board of the N.A.A.C.P. paid the editor a remarkable tribute. Referring to DuBois's work in *The Crisis*, it said, "He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligensia."

Many of the articles and editorials were highly controversial. These include his famous "Close Ranks" editorial of 1918, supporting Negro participation in World War I; his obituary on Booker T. Washington of 1915, in which he both praised and condemned Washington; his great "subversive" editorial of May 1919 announcing the post-war resumption of militant Negro demands for full equality; his long "Scottsboro Boys" editorial of September 1931 in which he criticized the manner in which the Communists made their defense of the Negro boys accused of rape at Scottsboro, Alabama; his editorials on social equality and intermarriage, on "the lynching industry;" his assertion of the right of self-defense; and his praise of Russia for its handling of minority problems.

Many pieces from *The Crisis* were reprinted in his *An ABC of Color*, published in East Germany in 1963. See Sections II and III of the Syllabus for other topics discussed in *The Crisis*, together with specific references under topic headings and in the Bibliography.

DuBois as Creative Writer

DuBois's monumental work in the social sciences — history, sociology, and education — have overshadowed his substantial contributions in the literary field. Yet he was a highly creative man and, as Eugene O'Neil and others have testified, could have made his mark in this field alone had he chosen it for his major vocation. Even so, he wrote five novels, *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*, *Dark Princess* and the Black Flame trilogy: *The Ordeal of Mansart*, *Mansart Builds a School*, and *Worlds of Color*. He produced many fine short stories, including "Jesus Christ in Georgia," which appeared in *The Crisis*, December 1911; and another was "Of the Coming of John" in *Souls of Black Folk*.

His interest in drama began during high school days in Great Barrington, and he was active in creative theatre while at Harvard. Later he became convinced that the outdoor drama-music spectacle form was especially suited to tell the story of the black people (Paul Green, Kermit Hunter and others are now using this form successfully). DuBois created one such drama called *The Star of Ethiopia*, mentioned above, which told the story of the long history of blacks in Africa and America. Using some 1000 performers, this drama played to more than a hundred thousand spectators in New York City, Washington D.C. (in the American League Baseball Park), Philadelphia, and finally the Hollywood Bowl. The scenario was first published in November 1913 issue of *The Crisis* and later reprinted in *An ABC of Color*.

But perhaps the creative DuBois is best known for his poems. His "A Litany at Atlanta" (first printed in *The Independent*, October 11, 1906, and reprinted in *Darkwater*, 1920) is the one most quoted. Other powerful poems among the many he wrote for *The Crisis* were "The Song of the Smoke" which is a paean to black beauty, "The Burden of Black Women," "A Christmas Poem" on the lynching of God, "Ghana Calls," "War," "The White Man's Burden," and "Almighty Death."

DuBois was also a fine critic: he wrote many essays on art, music, drama, and literature. A notable example was "The Negro in Literature and Art," *Annals of Political and Social Science* September 1913, "Criteria of Negro Art," *Crisis*, October 1926. See also his book reviews in *The Crisis* entitled the "Browsing Reader," including Fall books, *The Crisis*, November 1924.

John Brown, 1909

DuBois once wrote about those professing to be white friends of the black people: "I do not believe any people ever had so many 'friends' as the American Negro today. He has nothing but 'friends,' and may the good God deliver him from most of them, for they are like to lynch his soul." But one of the true white friends admired by DuBois was John Brown, and in 1909 DuBois wrote "a record and a tribute to the man who of all [white] Americans has perhaps come nearest to touching the real souls of black folk."

DuBois always considered this book as one of his best creations. Possibly the two most important chapters are "The Riddle of the Sphinx" and "The Legacy of John Brown." One of the main themes in the book — and DuBois comes back to this time and again throughout his life — is "The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression," or, as he also put it, "Oppression costs the oppressor too much if the oppressed stand up and protest."

DuBois's Later and Radical Years

W.E.B. DuBois spent more than fifty years of his long, productive life working with valor to cope with the problems of poverty, education, racial and class exploitation, colonialism, and war. But his work met with steadfast resistance from the American white power structure. By the late 1940's DuBois was becoming progressively disillusioned about the future of the entire democratic system. He came to believe that the United States was no longer the beacon to mankind but the buttress of international reaction and injustice. He no longer believed entirely in his famous prophecy, made in *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."

He now added the "Class line" to the original prophecy. He now became a prophet who lashed the establishment with scorpions; he dared write, talk, and march for peace; he sought international labor solidarity, regardless of race, creed, or country (not excluding Russia, China, and other socialist nations). He dreamt of a new system to supplant democracy, under which poverty, racism, unemployment, ignorance, war would be abolished; and he decided that the new system must be some form of socialism. Finally he left America to go to far-off Ghana, which he had helped found, where he said he could be a man and "not a nigger," and where he could work on his long-planned *African Encyclopedia* — originally proposed in 1909 — which Ghana helped finance. Then, in 1961, he joined the Communist Party, at the age of 93!

His writings in this later period of his life include statements for organizations, essays in various left-wing publications, a full-length autobiography (1968), and three books: *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* (1945), *The World and Africa* (1947), and *In Battle for Peace* (1952).

The Autobiography, 1968

For a man who recognized his own relative importance, DuBois wrote surprisingly little about his personal life or about the DuBois and Burghardt families. What he called autobiography devoted much less space to DuBois the man than to history, social theory, colleagues, and organizations. Chapter I of *Darkwater* has a beautiful brief story of the family, and two chapters of *Dusk of Dawn* deal with the DuBois and Burghardt families and the important New England small town environment which made "black Yankees"

of Negro Citizens. One of these chapters is entitled "A New England Boy and Reconstruction" and the other is Chapter V, "The Concept of Race." Also, in a beautiful little essay in *The Crisis*, April 1928, DuBois wrote the story of "The House of the Black Burghardts" in Great Barrington, Mass., where he lived as a boy and where his mother's people had lived for almost two centuries.

In 1968, on DuBois's 100th birthday, International Publishers brought out posthumously the full-length autobiography, which he had begun to write when he was 90! It was completed shortly before his death. It was as though he had been rushing to complete his own monument, and a splendid monument it is.

The book deals with DuBois and his work from his birth through World War II. Here we get the story of his family, his boyhood in New England, his young dreams, his schooling; education at Fisk and at Harvard; first trip to Europe and studies at the University of Berlin; teaching at Wilberforce, the University of Pennsylvania, and Atlanta. He includes the founding of the Niagara Movement, the work of founding the N.A.A.C.P., and founding *The Crisis* and editing it, together with his own analysis of "my character."

It also deals with his later and more radical years: writing; work for peace, for internationalism, against colonialism, for African independence; his indictment and acquittal for circulating the Stockholm Peace Petition, and refusing to register as a foreign agent.

The final section, "My Tenth Decade," includes travel (15 trips abroad), friendship with Russia and China; his philosophical embracing of Marxist-Leninism; taking up citizenship in Ghana; and working on the great *African Encyclopedia* project.

* * * *

SECTION II

Major Topics

Africa

Early in his life, Dr. DuBois, considered by many to be the "father of Pan-Africanism," began his life-long study of African history, culture, economics and relations with the Western white colonial powers. He quickly learned that he was up against a propaganda conspiracy, centuries old, to (1) convince the white people of the world that blacks are inferior and (2) to create a feeling of inferiority among the colored peoples themselves. Soon, he conceived that he had a sacred obligation to show to the black people of Africa and the world that they should have great pride in Africa's past, present and future; that they should strive with might and persistence, to gain dignity; to obtain education; to gain independence from the white exploiters; to establish unity among the colored races; to form great African alliances; to strive for peace among themselves and the other peoples of the world; and to end colonialism. Possibly he did more than any other individual in the twentieth century to accomplish this program. By his work in the field of African affairs alone W.E.B. DuBois earned a high place in any conceivable world humanitarian hall of fame. One might date his fight for African freedom and development from the 1900 Congress on Africa to his death in 1963. Then, at the age of 95 he was in the midst of his work to create his great *African Encyclopedia* which he had planned so hopefully and carefully in 1909.

Below we cite selected references to his writings in this great cause; the citations are by no means complete: COLOR AND DEMOCRACY 1945; THE WORLD AND AFRICA 1947; THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 1896; his AUTOBIOGRAPHY 1968 (Posthumous); essay on "African Culture" in Bucklin Moon PRIMER FOR WHITE FOLKS 1945; "Black Africa Tomorrow" FOREIGN AFFAIRS July 1943; "The American Negro at Paris" AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS November 1900; "The Color Line Belts the World" COLLIERS October 20, 1906; "The African Roots of War" ATLANTIC MONTHLY May 1915; "What is Civilization: Africa's Answer" FORUM February 1925; "Back to Africa" CENTURY February 1923; "Liberia and Rubber" NEW REPUBLIC November 18, 1925; "World's of Color" FOREIGN AFFAIRS READER edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong; see two long pamphlets by Haldeman-Julius ("Blue Books") "Africa: Its Geography, People and Products" 1930 and "Africa: Its Place in History" 1930; "The Races Congress" THE CRISIS September 1911; THE CRISIS April 1919; "The Pan-African Movement" COLONIAL AND COLORED UNITY edited by George Padmore 1945; "A Program for Emancipation of Colored Peoples" TRUST AND NON SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES edited by Merze Tate 1948; "The Future of Africa" and essay made into a pamphlet by the N.A.A.C.P. 1919; "Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis" FOREIGN AFFAIRS October 1935; "Colonies and Moral Responsibility" JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION Summer 1946; "American Negroes and Africa" NATIONAL GUARDIAN February 14, 1955; "Pan-Africa: A Mission in My Life" UNITED ASIA April 1955; "France's Black Citizens in West Africa" CURRENT HISTORY July 1925.

Autobiography

See books: SOULS OF BLACK FOLK Chapter "Of the Meaning of Progress" and "Of the Passing of the First Born"; DARKWATER Chapter I; CREDO; DUSK OF DAWN Chapter II "A New England Boy" and Chapter "The Concept of Race"; essay "The House of the Black Burghardts" (his maternal ancestors); THE CRISIS September 1928; the AUTOBIOGRAPHY 1968 (Posthumous), especially Chapter V "My Character" and Chapter "My Tenth Decade", and Chapter VI "My Birth and Family".

Black Creative Contributions

DuBois performed herculean labor in encouraging Negro artists, writers, and musicians and he gave much of his energy to creative pursuits of his own. Many young Negroes had their works first used in publications DuBois edited. He founded a black theatre group; he encouraged and helped create the "Harlem Renaissance." He found money for literary prizes. The LaFarge family gave an annual prize in DuBois's name. He wrote several novels, many short stories and skits and poems and he did one very successful drama. See Bibliography below. For his drama "The Star of Ethiopia" see THE CRISIS November 1913; December 1915; August 1916; Drama THE CRISIS June 1917. Literary prize THE CRISIS February 1934. "The Negro in Literature and Art" ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE September 1913. Short story "Of the Coming of John" in SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. "Jesus Christ in Georgia", story THE CRISIS December 1911. ("Criteria of Negro Art" THE CRISIS Vol. 32 pp. 290-7, also October 1926.)

Black History

"The Freedman's Bureau" ATLANTIC MONTHLY March 1901. See books SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE &c. 1896; BLACK RECONSTRUCTION 1935; "Reconstruction: Seventy-Five Years After" PHYLON 1943; "The Negro Since 1900" NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE November 2, 1948; essay "Toward a History of the Great War" [World War I] THE CRISIS March, May & June 1919. See especially Chapter "The Propaganda of History" BLACK RECONSTRUCTION.

Black Power

Many years ago W.E.B. DuBois started speculating about Black Power and how best to wield it. He considered all phases of the subject including notably economic black power and political black power. He considered such phases as black bloc voting, Negro business cooperatives, the use of the consumer's boycott, demonstrations and even armed self-defense. See "The Training of Negroes for Social Power" OUTLOOK October 17, 1903; "The Value of Agitation" VOICE OF THE NEGRO March 1907; ATLANTA UNIVERSITY study on "Economic Cooperation Among Negroes"; voluntary segregation "A Negro Nation Within the Nation" CURRENT HISTORY June 1935; "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom" in Rayford Logan's WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS 1944.

Class Struggle: Marxism, Socialism, Communism & Russia

In his first two books THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE and THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO DuBois was groping his way toward one of the more important of Marxian ideas, the materialistic interpretation of history (economics as the primary determinant in society). See his "The Outer, Whiter World of Harvard" essay in THE HARVARD BOOK edited by William Bentinck-Smith 1953; he was exposed to socialist ideas while a student at the University of Berlin and while traveling in Europe in this period; in 1911 he joined the Socialist Party. He died a nominal member of the Communist Party. So as Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "DuBois was a radical all of his life" and we ought to cease muting the fact. He explains his philosophy on the class struggle in his AUTOBIOGRAPHY and elsewhere. BLACK RECONSTRUCTION 1935 was an attempted economic determinist analysis of an important period in American life. See articles and essays "The Negro and Socialism" in Helen L. Alfred's TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA 1958; "The Economic Future of the Negro" American Economic Association publication February 1906; "Negroes and the Crisis of Capitalism" MONTHLY REVIEW April 1950; "The Economic Aspects of Race Prejudice" EDITORIAL REVIEW May 1910; "The Hosts of Black Labor" NATION May 9, 1923; "Marxism and the Negro Problem" THE CRISIS May 1933; "Karl Marx and the Negro" THE CRISIS March 1933; "Socialism and the Negro" THE CRISIS October 1921; "Judging Russia" THE CRISIS February 1927; his famous "Scottsboro Boys" editorial (with comments on communism and the Negro) THE CRISIS September 1931; "The Negro and Socialism" HORIZON February 1907; "The Most Hopeful Nation in the World" SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY November 1947; See AUTOBIOGRAPHY especially chapters on Africa, Russia and China. See his book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY 1945; also THE WORLD AND AFRICA 1947. "The Depression" THE CRISIS December 1931.

DuBois's Heroes & Villains

Black Heroes. His black heroes were many. One of the most admired was Frederick Douglassand DuBois proved his respect for Douglass by helping to save his home Cedar Hill in Washington, D.C., for posterity. See THE CRISI August 1917; December 1915; February 1918. His love for Bishop Crummell is shown in the chapter in THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. Col. Charles Young is praise in many writings e.g. THE CRISIS October 1917 and February 1918. Admiration for John Hope is expressed in THE CRISIS September 1948.

White Heroes. These included Eugene V. Debs, William Dean Howells, Thaddeas Stevens, Wendell Phillips, Charles Summer and many others. In DUSK OF DAWN and his AUTOBIOGRAPHY DuBois paid tribute to Frank Hosmer, principal of the Great Barrington School (and others in his home town), who helped give him his life's direction. Of course his book JOHN BROWN tells much about this white hero. See THE CRISIS September 1916 for eulogy of Josiah Royce, one of his teachers at Harvard and also THE CRISIS February 1917 for a tribute to his friend Joel Spingarn, one of the pillars of the early N.A.A.C.P.

Villains. As a prophet DuBois devoted more time to the enemies of Black folk than to heroes. He never gave the Southern demagogues in Congress rest--among these were Tillman, Bilbo, Vardaman, Byrnes. See editorial on Byrnes THE CRISIS January 1915. He also assailed Hitler, Mussolini, President Andrew Johnson, The Reverend Thomas Dixon, and others at home and abroad.

Migration. In defiance of laws against it, he urged mass Negro migration to the North for better jobs and educational opportunities.

Education

DuBois insisted that all Negroes obtain as much education as possible of whatever kind, vocational or academic, with emphasis on the latter. Worked for better universities, separate schools for and controlled by Negroes. Encouraged Negro children to seek education. Essay "The Talented Tenth" in Booker T. WAshington's THE NEGRO PROBLEM 1903; ATLANTA MONTHLY article "A Negro Schoolmaster in the South" January 1899; "Results of Tuskeegee Conferences" HARPERS WEEKLY June 22, 1901; "Of the Training of Black Men" ATLANTIC MONTHLY September 1902; "The Burden of Negro Schooling" INDEPENDENT July 18, 1901; "Education and Work" HOWARD UNIVERSITY BULLETIN January 1931; "The Hampton Strike" NATION November 2, 1927; THE CRISIS first issue November 1910 on education; "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools" JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1935; "The Negro College" CRISIS August 1933; Atlanta Studies "The College-Bred Negro" and "The Negro Common School" 1901-1912; "Results of Ten Tuskeegee Conferences" HARPERS WEEKLY January 22, 1901; THE CRISIS editorial "Basic Fallacy" on education July 1915; "Obituary for Booker T. Washington" THE CRISIS December 1915; "On Federal Aid to Education" THE CRISIS March 1911.

The Negro and Politics

Major demands for unrestricted Negro suffrage. DuBois urged block voting and ticket splitting. He introduced Black voting and Black power. At various times he supported Socialists, Republicans, Democrats, Progressives, Labor, and Communist candidates. Through block voting he felt Negroes would eventually hold the balance of electoral power. "The Suffrage Right in Georgia" INDEPENDENT November 30, 1899; "My Fifty Years as a Political Independent" MASSES AND MAINSTREAM August 1948; "Republicans and the Black Voters" NATION June 5, 1920; "The South and the Third Party" THE NEW REPUBLIC January 3, 1923; "Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson" THE CRISIS March 1913; "On the White Primary" THE

CRISIS March 1911; "The Black Mother" THE CRISIS December 1912; Slogans used in great "silent parade" against lynching THE CRISIS September 1917; "Possibilities of the Negro" BOOKLOVERS MAGAZINE July 1903; "The Development of a People" INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS April 1904; "Battle of New Orleans" THE CRISIS March 1915 (also other writings on Negro soldiers, especially chapter on the topic in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, and THE CRISIS July 1918 to September 1919.)

The Negro and Self-Defense

Although DuBois was an effective life-long advocate of peace, he did not believe in non-resistance. Many times he asserted the right of the victimized to use self-defense. Perhaps his most controversial advocacy of this was in his chapter "Souls of White Folk" in DARKWATER. He also approved the use of force in Civil War as a defense against slavery. See BLACK RECONSTRUCTION and two chapters in his book JOHN BROWN "The Riddle of the Sphinx" and "The Legacy of John Brown." See sample editorials in THE CRISIS "The Fruit of the Tree" September 1913; and "Refinement and Love" December 1916.

Militancy and self-defense. Urged Negroes to become self-assertive, but recognized the need for some prudence where they were overpowered. Negroes had a right of self-defense when protection was denied by government agencies. (Soldier revolts, student strikes, mass demonstrations.)

Negro Children

Near the end of his life in West African Ghana DuBois expressed sadness at the thought that Negro children might "no longer hear my name." Once surely they heard it. For years he devoted the October annual issues of THE CRISIS to children. Also he founded and published the BROWNIE'S BOOK for children in the years 1920-21. Also he wrote many special editorials, poems, and essays for children. See CRISIS children's issues including October 1912; October 1918 ("Slaughter of Innocents"); October 1916; September and October 1919 on the "True Brownies" and see especially the BROWNIE'S BOOK 1920-21. ("Immortal Children" THE CRISIS October 1916.)

Negroes in Relation to White America

Poor Whites. "Race Friction" AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY May 1908; "The Southerners Problem" DIAL May 1, 1905;"Relation of Negroes to the Whites in the South" Annals AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE July 1901; Chapter on the white proletariat in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION. Though a militant advocate of race pride and voluntary separation or cultural pluralism, DuBois believed in all races and preached the alliance of all men of good will.

The White Establishment. "A Litany at Atlanta" DARKWATER. "Civilization in the South" THE CRISIS March, 1917; On the third party possibilities in the

South NEW REPUBLIC January 3, 1923; "Southern Civilization" THE CRISIS September, 1916; "The Color Line Belts the World" COLLIERS October 20, 1906; "The Culture of White Folk" JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT April 1917; "Souls of White Folk" chapter in DARKWATER. Chapter "Back Toward Slavery" in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION; "Southerners" THE CRISIS November 1913 and September 1916; "The Census" THE CRISIS November 1911.

The White Church. "Will the Church Renounce the Color Line" CHRISTIAN CENTURY December 9, 1931; "The Negro and the YMCA" HORIZON March 1910; "Religion and the American Negro NEW WORLD 1900; "Episcopal Church" THE CRISIS December 1913; "The White Christ" THE CRISIS March 1915; "The Terrible Good" THE CRISIS November 1916; editorial THE CRISIS October 1913; see monograph on the Negro church in ATLANTA STUDIES; DuBois' AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Early findings see conclusions in PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. Also January 1918 THE CRISIS. (SOULS OF BLACK FOLK Chapter X "Faith of the Fathers").

Religion. Not a believer in organized religion, but work shows was deeply spiritual. Recognized importance of Negro church in uplifting the Negro race, since the church served as an organizing force.

Negro Self-Segregation (Race Pride, Pluralism)

DuBois was one of the first and perhaps the ablest advocate of Negro voluntary self-segregation as a weapon to abolish compulsory segregation. He finally broke with the NAACP in June 1934 over this issue. See "Nation Within a Nation" CURRENT HISTORY June 1935. "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools" JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1935; The great document he wrote for the NAACP in 1947 in the form of an appeal to the United Nations and the world to protect the Negro American minority in which he referred to the Negro people as a considerable nation of people within the United States (the NAACP now approved his position); "The Jim Crow Argument" THE CRISIS March 1913; editorial "Awake" THE CRISIS April 1917; "The Dilemma of the Negro" AMERICAN MERCURY October 1924; "The Hampton STrike" THE NATION November 2, 1927; "Where Do We Go From Here" JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION January 1939. See particularly the great controversy running in THE CRISIS between DuBois as editor and the majority of the board of the NAACP over this issue. See January, February, March, April, May, June, and August 1934. The March 1934 issue contained a symposium on Negro voluntary segregation. Marcus Garvey's editorial THE CRISIS December 1920.

Official and Semi-Official Violence Against Negroes

Law and Order. Most crime rises out of poverty, discrimination, and degredation. Did not deny there was much crime among Negroes. But Negroes were condemned unjustly as a race. Attacked police forces of the south and prisons and chain gangs, which he declared were used as criminally inhuman means of social control.and to obtain cheap labor. Lynching was also a terror club;official and semi-official violence exposed the contempt the power structure really had for law and order. DuBois wrote and spoke much on the evil

of lynching. Had an annual department in THE CRISIS called "This Lynching Industry." See sample editorials THE CRISIS May, 1912; June 1912; August 1911; February 1916; July 1917; August 1912; January 1915; March 1915; July 1916; December 1916; November 1916; September 1917 (The Big "Silent Parade" in New York City) February 1919 (gives record for the industry in 1918). (May 1919 "Shubuta Lynchings" THE CRISIS). Chain Gangs and Peonage. "Black Bastille" THE CRISIS February 1917; August 1912; April 1916; September 1913; July 1917. Story in DARKWATER "Jesus Christ in Texas" January 1915, September 1913. Ku Klux Klan and relation semi-official groups. "Georgia The Invisible Empire State" in Earnest Gruening THESE UNITED STATES 1923. Essays and editorials on "Birth of a Nation" THE CRISIS October 1915; September 1915; June 1915; May 1915; April 1919; March 1919.

Peace and War

Though DuBois was a life-long pacifist and foe of war, he was not a thorough non-resister. He approved of John Brown's course. Throughout his career he wrote against war on the ground that it was caused by exploitation, colonialism, and greed; he hoped that a more intelligent order in society could be the moral equivalent of war. He supported World Wars I and II as lesser evils than the alternatives of fascist domination. He thought the Civil War moral and necessary. He was critical of the Spanish-American War and damned America's role in Vietnam up to his death. One of his early essays for peace appeared in THE CRISIS May 1913. See also editorials in THE CRISIS for 1918-19, especially the July, 1918 issue and May and September 1919 issues; "The Prospects of a World Without Race Conflict" AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY March 1944; Essay "I Take My Stand for Peace" MASSES AND MAINSTREAM April 1951; pamphlet "I Speak for Peace" published by American Labor Party; see book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY. For his work against preparations for atomic war and in circulating the "Stockholm" Peace Petition and his indictment for this work see extended treatment in his AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Program and Blue-Prints for Solutions of Racism

"Conservation of Races" pamphlet 1897; Appeal to United States for NAACP 1947; Niagara Movement statements (Aphteker: DOCUMENTARY HISTORY); "Social Planning for the Negro" JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION January 1936; "Can the Negro Expect Freedom by 1965" NEGRO DIGEST April 1947; "The Negro People and the United States" FREEDOMWAYS Spring 1961; "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom" Chapter in Rayford Logan WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS 1944; "The Immediate Program" April 1915 THE CRISIS. See also THE CRISIS June 1913 and February 1914 (May 1919!) "Awake" THE CRISIS September 1917.

Race Pride

In his personal writings and in the selection of writings by others for THE CRISIS, THE BROWNIE'S BOOK, and elsewhere DuBois was always trying to build race price. He is given credit for the phrase "Black is beautiful." He advocated institutional autonomy for Negroes. Africa has history. Black women have earned the respect of all races because of their beauty, their courage, their persecution. See his praise of black women in essay "The Damnation of Women" in DARKWATER. See his autobiographical writing in DUCK OF DAWN, SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, his AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Essay "On Being Black" NEW REPUBLIC February 18, 1920; Use of the designation "Negro" THE CRISIS March 1928.

Social Equality

Early comment on this see statements of the Niagara Movement; also his CREDO INDEPENDENT 1904; early statement on right of intermarriage in PHILADELPHIA NEGRO 1896; "Intermarriage" THE CRISIS February 1913; June, 1913; THE CRISIS editorial on "Intermarriage;""Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans" ATLANTA STUDIES 1915; "Civil Rights" THE CRISIS August 1913; "Divine Right" (interracial sex) June 1912; "Philippine Mulattoes" Monograph "Some Notes on Negro Crime" ATLANTA STUDIES 1904; (THE CRISIS November 1911.) "Divine Rights" THE CRISIS March 1912.

Intermarriage--Sex. Some of most devastating writing was on the common claim of whites that male Negroes were a threat to white women. Pointed to large number of mulattoes who existed as a result of forced concubinage as proof there was no natural antipathy between the races. One of the first to argue that the business of intermarriage was a subject of agreement and concern only to the parties involved. See THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO 1899.

Social Reform

In addition to the race question there was scarcely a reform movement in America or abroad on which DuBois did not take a stand. For example, he wrote editorials and essays to support women's rights, land reform, suffrage reform, persecution of minorities, poor whites, Sacco and Vanzetti.

State of the Nation: A Racist Society

Migration. Since conditions were so repressive in the South a great trek of Blacks to the Northern cities began just before World War I. DuBois encouraged it. Tuskeegee Machine repeated B.T. Washington's phrase of casting down your bucket where you are. See DuBois on topic. "The Tuskeegee Resolutions" THE CRISIS March 1917. Also January 1917; June 1917; January 1920; January 1912.

Military. Discrimination. Charles Young October 1917; Camp Logan, Texas, riots October 1917 and January 1918; Officers April 1917("Perpetual Dilemma") July 1920 THE CRISIS. General discrimination. (Mr. Dole editorial-essay May 1914 THE CRISIS); "Awake" September 1917 THE CRISIS; January 1915 THE CRISIS; American Legion September 1919 THE CRISIS; "The Shifty American Bar" October 1912; The Appeal to Europe January 11, 1911 THE CRISIS; A.F. of L. THE CRISIS March 1916; August 1924; July 1912; September 1919. Church (see topic Whites and Negroes) "Discrimination at Atlanta Library" December 1916; Department of Justice, May and June 1917 THE CRISIS. Official and semi-official violence see topic above ("The Hurt Hound" April 1913 THE CRISIS). The Crisis May 1919 and September 1919.

Work Attitudes For Blacks

Although DuBois, unlike Booker T. Washington, felt that education in the liberal arts held higher priority for Negroes than industrial education, he never tired of extolling the value and dignity of work--all work. For DuBois, work was sacred, but it was not an end in itself: it was to sustain life for one's self and for others; it was to give health; it was to give one joy of creation. See his AUTOBIOGRAPHY for various statements on work. See also the two ATLANTA STUDIES monographs "The Negro Artisan" and "The Negro American Artisan" 1902-12. See also "Of the Training of Black Men" in SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. "Education and Work" in Howard University Bulletin January 1931. THE CRISIS editorial "Work for Black Folk" February 1914. Also "The Servant in the House" THE CRISIS April 1912.

SECTION III

APHORISMS by W.E.B. DuBois

"Work worth while which one wants to do as compared with highly paid drudgery is exactly the difference between heaven and hell."

* * * *

"Social differences are facts. . .but they hardly need be looked upon as excuses for downright meanness and incivility."

* * * *

"I stepped into the 84th year with handcuffs on my wrists."

* * * *

"It is a curious thing that I am called upon to defend myself against charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want. . .peace."

* * * *

"The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily hanged Sacco and Vanzetti."

* * * *

"Within the stable order of things, there appears little need to remind the Negro of his place. He is already in it."

* * * *

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line."

* * * *

"Finally the general watch word must be, not to put further dependence on the help of the white but to organize for self-help."

* * * *

"How far can a Negro college, dominated by white trustees and a white president and supported by white wealth, carry on in defiance of the wishes and best interest of its colored constituency?"

* * * *

"Let us not forget that the arch enemy of the Negro race is the false pnilanthropist who kicks us in the mouth when we cry out in honest and justifiable protest."

* * * *

"If we are determined to reach the highest standards of the world, and broaden and lift those standards by development of the best part of our own American Negro culture, wrenched from our souls by blood and slavery, by poverty and insult, we may, led by Africa, save the world."

"Finally, it is a great mistake to have a governing board over an institution for colored people on which the Negro race is not represented."

* * * *

"The attack upon these hidden and partially concealed causes of race hate, must be led by Negroes – in the sense that Negroes must proceed constructively in new and comprehensive plans of their own."

* * * *

"I did not believe that a further prolongation of looking for salvation from the whites was feasible." [Controversy with N.A.A.C.P. in 1934]

* * * *

"The understanding between the Industrial North and the New South was being perfected and in 1890 the series of disfranchising laws began to be enacted by the Southern states."

* * * *

"What is life but the attempt of human beings to be happy and contented in a world which with all its ill has a mass of sun and waters, trees and flowers, beauty and love."

* * * *

"Emphasize the use and place of human difference as a tool and method of progress."

* * * *

"My Negro descent and narrow group culture have in many cases predisposed me to interpret my facts too favorably for my race; but there is little danger of long misleading here, for the champions of white folk are legion."

* * * *

"I realize that the truth of history lies not in the mouths of partisans but rather in the calm Science that sits between. Her cause I seek to serve, and wherever I fail, I am at least paying truth the respect of earnest effort."

* * * *

"We should measure the prosperity of a nation not by the number of millionaires but by the absence of poverty, the prevalence of health, the efficiency of the public schools and the number of people who can and do read worthwhile books."

* * * *

"We do solemnly believe that any system of Negro leadership that today devotes ten times as much space to the advantages of living in the South as it gives to lynching and lawlessness is inexcusably blind."

"A belief in Humanity is a belief in colored men. . .they form two-thirds of the world population."

* * * *

"I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not..I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what souls I will, and they come all graciously and with no scorn or condescention. . .Is this the life you grudge us, O knightly America? Is this the life you long to change into the dull red hideousness of Georgia? Are you so afraid lest peering from the high Pisgah between Philistine and Amalekite, we sight the promised land?"

* * * *

"You as voters and intelligent citizens must force PEACE on the professional soldiers and the business leaders who make fortunes on war and murder."

* * * *

"We American Negroes are part of the working force of the world. Not only do we represent an important segment of the American working class, but also of the working class of Europe, Asia and Africa and the other Americas. . . With us stand and must stand whether they will or not, the white workers of America and the world."

* * * *

"I came to know Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's Ring. I looked long at the colors of Rembrandt and Titian. I saw in arch and stone and steeple the history and striving of men."

* * * *

"The morning breaks over the hills. Courage, brother! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The Slav is rising in his might, the Yellow men are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing towards the light and everywhere the laborer is opening the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

* * * *

"Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us, and to a third World War which will ruin the world."

* * * *

"I regarded it as axiomatic that the world wanted to learn the truth and if the truth was sought with even approximate accuracy and devotion, the world would gladly support the effort. This was, of course, but a young man's idealism. . ."

* * * *

"Too much in the past we have been thinking of the exceptional folk, the Talented Tenth, the well-to-do;. . .we must now turn our attention toward the welfare and social uplift of the masses."

"Marx was one of the greatest men of modern times and. . .he put his finger squarely upon our difficulties when he said that economic foundations, the way in which men earn their living, are the determining factors in the development of civilization, in literature, religions, and the basic patterns of culture."

* * * *

"I realized. . .that so-called democracy today was allowing the mass of people to have only limited voice in government; that democratic control of what are at present the most important functions of men, work and earning a living and distributing goods and services, that here we did not have democracy. . ."

* * * *

"What we say and insist upon is that by no other method save by peace can we be in a position to begin the settlement of world problems."

* * * *

"Today, more than ever, war is utterly evil and completely indefensible. . . Nothing on earth is so completely useless, so inexcusably vile. . .It is planned and deliberate murder of human beings, the complete destruction of the earth's treasures."

* * * *

"If we are bribed by high salaries to our gifted while our masses starve, by privileges to our rich while our millions crawl, by publicity for our fools while our leaders and our youth rot in jail, then we are lost."

* * * *

American slavery wasn't the worst but "withal slavery, which, so far as human aspiration and desert were concerned, classed the black man and the ox together."

* * * *

"We consider that the first government henceforth to use the atomic weapon against any country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be treated as a war criminal."

* * * *

"Be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking."

* * * *

"Peace today, if it means anything, means the stopping of the slaughter of the weaker by the stronger in the name of Christianity and Culture."

". . .for the educated and industrious young colored man who wants work and not platitudes, wages and not alms, just rewards and not sermons — for such colored men Philadelphia apparently has no use."

* * * *

"This is the modern paradox of Sin before which the Puritan stands open-mouthed and mute. A group, a nation, or a race, commits murder and rape, steals and destroys, yet no individual is guilty."

* * * *

"The black world squirms beneath the feet of the white in impotent fury or sullen hate."

* * * *

"Fellow Negroes, is it not time to be men? Is it not time to strike back when we are struck? Is it not high time to hold up our heads and clinch our teeth and swear by the Eternal God we will NOT be slaves and that no aider, abettor, and teacher of slavery in any shape or guise can longer lead us?"

* * * *

"IT LYNCHES. . .IT DISFRANCHISES ITS OWN CITIZENS. . .IT ENCOURAGES IGNORANCE. . . IT STEALS FROM US. . .IT INSULTS US. . .and it looks upon any attempt to question or even discuss this dogma as arrogance, unwarranted assumption and treason."

* * * *

"'We got friends!' I do not believe any people ever had so many 'friends' as the American Negro today. He has nothing but 'friends' and may the good God deliver him from most of them, for they are like to lynch his soul."

* * * *

"One of the first pamphlets that I wrote [1897] was on 'The Conservation of Races' wherein I set down as the first article of a proposed racial creed: 'We believe that the Negro people as a race have a contribution to make to civilization and humanity which n o other race can make.'"

* * * *

"Is it wise for white philanthropists to forget that no amount of almsgiving on their part will half repay the 300 years of unpaid toil and the fifty years of serfdom by which the black man has piled up wealth and comfort for white America?"

* * * *

"There seems no hope that America in our day will yield in its color or race hatred any substantial ground."

"A perfect Hegelian category: the thesis of Negro race consciousness; the antithesis, the union of all labor across racial, national, and color lines; and the synthesis, a universal labor solidarity arising through the expansion of race consciousness in the most exploited class of all labor."

* * * *

"Economic exploitation based on the excuse of race prejudice is the program of the white world."

* * * *

"Africa saw the stars of God; Asia saw the soul of man; Europe saw and sees only man's body, which it feeds and polishes until it is fat, gross and cruel."

* * * *

I would be"...fellow-traveler with Communist or capitalist, with white or black [as long as] he walks toward the truth."

* * * *

"Therefore the hope for the future of the race lies far more among its workers than among its college graduates, until the time that our higher training is rescued from its sycophantic and cowardly leadership of today, almost wholly dependent as it is on Big Business either in politics or philanthropy."

* * * *

While pending trial: "Perhaps you do not realize just the kind of reign of terror under which anyone who dares to speak for peace or who does not hate Russia is placed."

* * * *

"Without the help of trade unionists, white and black, without the Progressives and radicals, without Socialists and Communists and lovers of peace all over the world, my voice would now be stilled forever."

* * * *

"The war movement in the United States is transforming this traditionally peaceful nation into the greatest warmonger of all history."

* * * *

"Our natural friends are not the rich but the poor, not the great but the masses, not the employers but the employees. Our good is not wealth, power, oppression, and snobbishness, but helpfulness, efficiency, service and self-respect."

Lynching, he said, would stop in the South ". . .when the cowardly mob is faced by effective guns in the hands of people determined to sell their souls dearly. If we are to die, in God's name let us perish like men and not bales of hay."

* * * *

Of Booker T. Washington: "In stern justice, we must lay on the soul of this man a heavy responsibility for the consummation of Negro disfranchisement, the decline of the Negro college and public school, and the firmer establishment of color caste in this land."

* * * *

"Stranger things have happened under the sun than understanding between those who were born blind." [re: white-black worker solidarity]

* * * *

"May God write us down as asses if ever again we are found putting our trust in either the Republican or the Democratic Parties."

* * * *

"Whatever ideals white labor today strives for in America, it would surrender nearly every one before it would recognize the Negro as a man."

* * * *

"I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for porpaganda."

* * * *

"We do not want stories which picture Negro blood as a crime calling for lynching and suicide. . .We are quite fed up with filth and defeatism."

* * * *

"The divinity of sweat."

* * * *

"There is no God but Love and Work is his prophet — help us to realize this truth O Father which thou so often in word and deed hath taught us. Let the knowledge temper our ambitions and our judgements. We would not be great but busy — not pious but sympathetic — not merely reverent, but filled with the glory of our Life-Work. . .God is love and Work is His Revelation. Amen."

* * * *

"For half the cost of an ironclad to sail about the world and get us in trouble, we might know instead of think about the Negro problems."

* * * *

"The price you must pay to earn a living in America is that of humiliation and inferiority."

"But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinction, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds, — so far as he, the South, or the Nation does this, — we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them."

* * * *

"Take the eyes of these millions off the stars and fasten them in the soil and if our black young men will dream dreams, let them be dreams of corn bread and molasses."

* * * *

"Finally the general watch word must be, not to put further dependence on the help of the whites but to organize for self-help, encouraging 'manliness without defiance, conciliation without servility."

* * * *

"We raise our shackled hands and charge Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers, by the tears of our dead mothers, by the very blood of Thy crucified Christ: What meaneth this? Tell us the plan; give us the sign! Sit no longer dumb, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely Thou, too, are not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing!"

* * * *

"Every influence and move toward greater democratic freedom, wider popular power, and abolition of special privilege is, whether intended or not, an inevitable step toward the emancipation of black men as well as white."

* * * *

After white men insulted and assaulted white women marchers in a suffrage parade, DuBois wrote: "Wasn't it glorious? Does it not make you burn with shame to be a mere Black Man when such mighty deeds are done by the Leaders of Civilization? Does it not make you 'ashamed of your race?' Does it not make you 'want to be white?'"

* * * *

"How long is practical Christianity going to be able to survive its own hypocrisy? Or will Christian ministers be able to keep straight faces?"

* * * *

"I am resolved to be quiet and law abiding, but to refuse to cringe in body or in soul, to resent deliberate insult, and to assert my just rights in the face of wanton aggression."

* * * *

"Let black men especially kill lecherous white invaders of their homes and then take their lynching gladly like men. It's worth it!"

"Oppression costs the oppressor too much if the oppressed stand up and protest. Agitate then, brother; protest, reveal the truth and refuse to be silenced. A moment's let up, a moment's acquiescence, means a chance for the wolves of prejudice to get at our necks."

* * * *

"We have all of us felt the sudden relief — the half-mad delight when contrary to fixed expectations we were treated as men and not dogs; and then, in the next breath, we hated ourselves for elation over that which was but due any human being. This is the real tragedy of the Negro in America: the inner degradation, the hurt hound feeling; the sort of upturning of all values which leads some black men to 'rejoice' because 'only' sixty-four Negroes were lynched in the year of our Lord 1912. Conceive, O Poet, a ghastlier tragedy than such a state of mind!"

* * * *

"Why will this Soul of White Folk, — this modern Prometheus — hang bound by his own bindings, tethered by a fable of the past? I hear this mighty cry reverberating through the world, 'I am white!' Well and good, O Prometheus, divine thief! Is not the world wide enough for two colors, for many shinings of the sun? Why, then, devour your own vitals if I answer even as proudly, 'I am black!'"

* * * *

"I am a Negro; and I glory in the name! I am proud of the black blood that flows in my veins. From all the recollections dear to my boyhood have I come here, not to pose as a critic but to join hands with this, my people."

* * * *

"There is no devil in Hell that would countenance more flagrant infringements upon Human Liberty, to crush the rising genias of a People, than the average deacon of the Methodist Church South."

* * * *

"A religion that won't stand the application of reason and common sense is not fit for an intelligent dog."

* * * *

"The Universe is Truth. The best ought to be. On these postulates hang all the law and the prophets."

* * * *

"How far in a state can a recognized moral wrong safely be compromised?. . . It behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done."

* * * *

"The sole aim of any society is to settle its problems in accordance with its highest ideals, and the only rational method of accomplishing this is to study those problems in the light of the best scientific research."

"A system which discourages aspiration and endeavor encourages crime and laziness."

* * * *

"Well sped, my boy, before the world has dubbed your ambition insolence, has held your ideals unattainable, and taught you to cringe and bow. . .Better far this nameless void that stops my life than a sea of sorrow for you."

* * * *

"The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression."

* * * *

"In time we are going to be the greatest people in the world, if only we do the work that is laid before us as it ought to be done."

* * * *

"It is but human experience to find that the complete suppression of a race is impossible. Despite inner discouragement and submission to the oppression of others there persisted the mighty spirit, the emotional rebound that kept a vast number struggling for its right, for self-expression, and for social uplift. Such men, in many cases, became targets for the white race. They were denounced as trouble makers. They were denied opportunity. They were driven from their homes. They were lynched."

* * * *

"Such mental frustration cannot indefinitely continue. Some day it may burst in fire and blood. Who will be to blame? And where the greater cost? Black folk, after all, have little to lose, but Civilization has all."

* * * *

"This the American Black man knows: his fight here is a fight to the finish. Either he dies or wins."

* * * *

"He will enter modern civilization here in America as a black man on terms of perfect and unlimited equality with any white man, or he will enter not at all. Either extermination root and branch, or absolute equality. There can be no compromise. This is the last great battle of the West."

* * * *

"Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and travel across the world. This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distortion of truth and oppression of our own people."

"I believe in the Prince of Peace. I believe that war is Murder. I believe that armies and navies are at bottom the tinsel and braggadocio of oppression and wrong, and I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger but foreshadows the death of that strength."

* * * *

"Peace is not an object in itself, it is a method, a path to an ideal. . . What we say and insist upon is that by no other method save by peace can we be in a position to begin the settlement of world problems. We affirm that the clear lesson of the awful history of the last half century is that the military force as now used cannot compel men to alter their beliefs and ideas, nor can it ultimately change their actions against their will."

* * * *

"How can love of humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who, especially in recent years, have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman?"

* * * *

"I now state my conclusion frankly and clearly: I believe in communism. I mean by communism, a planned way of life in the production of wealth and work designed for building a state whose object is the highest welfare of its people and not merely the profit of a part. I believe that all men should be employed according to their ability and that wealth and service should be distributed according to need."

* * * *

"If Negroes were lost in Africa, money would be available to measure their heads, but $500 a year is hard to raise for Atlanta [University]."

* * * *

"The first and greatest cause of Negro crime in the South is the convict-lease system."

* * * *

"The present social separation and acute race-sensitiveness must eventually yield to the influence of culture, as the South grows civilized."

* * * *

"We want to pull down nothing but we don't propose to be pulled down. . . We believe in taking what we can get but we don't believe in being satisfied with it and in permitting anybody for a moment to imagine we're satisfied."

* * * *

"Instead of being led and defended by others, as in the past, [the Negroes] are gaining their own leaders, their own voices, their own ideals."

As early as 1923 DuBois feared that colored children in non-segregated educational systems would be "*abused, browbeaten, murdered and kept in something worse than ignorance.*"

* * * *

"*Our college man today is, on the average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideals, swarming into semi-professional athletics and Greek letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research. The greatest meetings of the Negro college year like those of the white college year have become vulgar exhibitions of liquor, extravagance, and fur coats. We have in our college a growing mass of stupidity and indifference.*"

* * * *

"*Mr. [President] Taft is not an enemy of the race, he is worse than that; he is a luke-warm friend.*"

* * * *

"*When the Crisis has thundered the truth it is no idle boast to say that thieves have gone to jail, imposters have disappeared, colleges have reorganized, governments have stood at attention and Klans have hurried to cover.*"

* * * *

"*American culture is rotting away; our honest, our human sympathy. . .Our manners are gone and the one thing we want to be is rich — to show off. . . Democracy is dead in the United States.*"

* * * *

"*In my own country for nearly a century I have been nothing but a 'nigger!'*"

* * * *

"*By the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if now that the war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land. We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.*"

* * * *

"*Any colored man who votes for Mr. Taft will do so on the assumption that zero is better than minus one.*"

* * * *

"*The Negro must demand his social rights: His right to be treated as a gentleman, when he acts like one, to marry any sane, grown person who wants to marry him, and to meet and eat with his friends without being accused of undue assumption or unworthy ambition.*"

"I thank God that most of the money that supports the N.A.A.C.P. comes from black hands; a still larger proportion must so come, and we must not only support but control this and similar organizations and hold them unwaveringly to our objects, our aims and our ideals."

* * * *

"Old ideals. . .old standards of beauty. . .not the blue-eyed, white-skinned types which are set before us in school and literature but rich, brown and black men and women with glowing dark eyes and crinkling hair. . .that harks back to the heritage of Africa and the tropics."

* * * *

"No one who essays to teach the multitude can long escape crucifixion."

* * * *

"The spell of Africa is upon me. The ancient witchery of her medicine is burning my drowsy, dreamy blood. This is not a country, it is a world — a universe of itself and for itself, a thing Different, Immense, Menacing, Alluring. . .Africa is the Spiritual Frontier of human kind — oh the wild and beautiful adventures of its taming! But oh! the cost thereof — the endless, endless cost! There will come a day — an old and ever, ever young day when there will spring in Africa a civilization without coal, without noise, where machinery will sing and never rush and roar, and where men will sleep and think and dance and lie prone before the rising sun, and women will be happy. . ."

* * * *

"We hope that the coming [Pan-African] Congress will be the greatest and most important gathering of representatives of all branches of the black race which the world has yet seen; and that it will settle for all time the question as to whether they must always and everywhere follow the guidance of white folk."

* * * *

"The nest of grafters, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, helped by Americans, have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese war, and are attacking the Communists. That is called 'Communist aggression.' It is the attempt of American business and the American Navy to supplant France as colonial ruler in Southeast Asia."

* * * *

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow citizens, born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: fear to let the black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice."

"...the true college will ever have one goal--not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes."

* * * *

"High in the tower, where I sit above the loud complaining of the human sea, I know many souls that toss and whirl and pass, but none there are that intrigue me more than the Souls of White Folk. Of them I am singularly clairvoyant. I see in and through them. I view them from unusual points of vantage. Not as a foreigner do I come, for I am native, not foreign, bone of their thought and flesh of their language. Mine is not the knowledge of the traveler or the colonial composite of dear memories, words and wonder. Nor yet is my knowledge that which servants have of masters, or mass of class, or capitalist of artisan. Rather I see these souls undressed and from the back and side. I see the working of their entrails. I know their thoughts and they know that I know. This knowledge makes them now embarrassed, now furious! They deny my right to live and be and call me misbirth! My word is to them mere bitterness and my soul, pessimism. And yet as They preach and strut and shout and threaten, crouching as they clutch at rags of facts and fancies to hide their nakedness, they go twisting, flying by my tired eyes and I see them ever stripped, --ugly, human..."

* * * *

"The men of the Niagara Movement, declared their manifesto, coming from the toil of a year's work, and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro-hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.-- Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the "Thief and the home of the Slave"--a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment."

* * * *

"To seek to teach universal love and brotherhood for all little folk, black and brown and yellow and white."

* * * *

"To make colored children realize that being colored is a normal, beautiful thing, to make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race, to make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful useful, famous persons, to teach them delicately, a code of honor and action in their relations with white children, to turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition and love of their own homes and companions, to point out the best amusements and joys and worthwhile things of life, to inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice. This is a great program--a tremendous task. We want the advice of all mothers and fathers of all men and women and children in helping us accomplish it. We can conceive of no more splendid duty at this critical hour."

* * * *

"Of course my chief theme song in me has been the fact that I was not simply interested in a great social problem--in a sense I was that problem."

* * * *

"I am not as sure, as once I was, about the continuity and inevitableness of progress, but I am increasingly sure of the value of a right attitude toward the truth. If the facts give reason for believing in the advance of civilization in any particular, All Hail! If the facts show that we are losing valuable patterns of culture and groups of worthy individuals and logical methods of thought, nevertheless the Truth is mighty and will prevail. In some renewed worship of what is actually so, and stern adherance to the facts so far as we can make them out, lies my fixed religion."

* * * *

LAST MESSAGE OF DR. DU BOIS TO THE WORLD

The body of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois was laid to final rest with full military honors on the afternoon of August 29th at a spot some fifty yards from the pounding surf, beside the wall of The Castle, residence of the President of Ghana. Immediately following the interment, a last message to the world written by Dr. Du Bois was read to the thousands of assembled mourners. It was dated June 26, 1957, and had been given to his wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois, for safekeeping until the hour of his death. -- This is the Message:

"It is much more difficult in theory than actually to say the last good-bye to one's loved ones and friends and to all the familiar things of this life. -- I am going to take a long, deep and endless sleep. This is not a punishment but a privilege to which I have looked forward for years. -- I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play, but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life; that what I have done ill or never finished can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done. -- And that peace will be my applause. -- One thing alone I charge you. As you live, believe in life! Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life.-- The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth simply because the great end comes slowly, because time is long. -- Good-bye."

SECTION IV

Address Delivered by the Reverend William Howard Melish at the Memorial Service of the Late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois at the Aggrey Memorial Church, Achimota College, Accra, Ghana, on Sunday 29th September, 1963

"ONE OF THE GREAT COMPANIONS"

The poet, Walt Whitman, in his "Song of the Open Road," speaks of "....the Great Companions.....
"....they are the swift and majestic men--they are the greatest women;
"Journeyers over consecutive seasons, over the years, the curious years, each emerging from that which preceded it;
"Journeyers gaily with their own youth, journeyers with their bearded and well-grained manhood,
"Journeyers with their womanhood, ample, unsurpassed, content,
"Journeyers with their own sublime old age of manhood or womanhood,
"Old age, calm, expanded, broad with the haughty breadth of the universe."

In Walt Whitman's words, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was surely one of "the Great Companions."

Of his ancestry he wrote in his own inimitable way, "I have a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God, no Anglo-Saxon," and life, parrying his sense of humour, made him New England-born--and almost the quintessence of the New England character. From that environment came his avidity for knowledge, a conscience sensitive and stern, a compulsion to give life meaning through commitment, and the proud awareness that he, a man of colour in a surrounding white world--had been endowed by Providence with unusual talents. Study of build, handsome in profile, patrician in bearing, proud and ambitious, in Whitman's words again, he early knew himself destined to be one of the "swift and majestic men."

In the decades after the American Civil War, Great Barrington was a not-unfavourable environment for a lad of promise. Western Massachusetts had been the scene of abolitionist sentiment, the twenty five Negro families that lived in the valley had been there since the War of 1812 with England and as old residents mingled freely with the farmer folk and towns-people. Neighbours were friendly, churches encouraged young people, a New England town meeting saw the participation of all the levels of society, and the local High School was blessed with a prin-

cipal fresh from Hawaii, who took an interest in an able student of mixed ancestry and taught him Greek and Latin with the perception that these were, in those days, the keys to college. Young DuBois at his High School graduation delivered an oration on the great Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips. His one ambition was to go to Harvard College.

His widowed mother did not have the means to send him, nor did his relatives, but they pooled what resources they had as a clan; good fortune brought a summer construction job that paid DuBois good wages as a time-keeper; and a family council decided that if the means were lacking for Harvard, there was enough to send the boy to Fisk, a Negro University in Nashville, Tennessee. Bitter was his disappointment but as one sees it now, the decision had a crucial bearing on all that was to be. At Fisk, he discovered eager and ambitious Negro students like himself, inspiring teachers, an honest and dedicated president, and, most fruitful of all, the experience in the summertimes of teaching in a rural Negro School in the State of Tennessee. The young easterner from Massachusetts came face to face with both the plight and the potential of the wonderful people that ever after he would call his own.

Harvard was seeking to broaden its student body and when DuBois applied for admission, a grant was made to this lad from Fisk to come to Cambridge, Massachusetts, for two years, where he attended Harvard College and received his bachelor's degree, and then for two more years in the Graduate School as a Fellow in History and Political Science. Another grant took him to Germany--the intellectual Mecca for American scholarship in the 1890's--where he sat at the feet of great teachers in the University of Berlin and learned the academic disciplines that were to serve him all his life. On his twenty-fifth birthday, far away from home, it was a prescient young man who wrote in his private diary, "I am striving to make my life all that life may be... God knows that I am sorely puzzled... The general proposition of working for the world's good too soon becomes sickly sentimentality. I therefor take the world that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world..."

His first teaching opportunity was in a small midwestern college in Ohio, named after William Wilberforce, half church- and half state-supported, where he taught Latin, Greek, German, and English, to which he added a new subject, Sociology, and where he met "the slender, quiet, dark-haired girl," who was shortly to become his wife. At Wilberforce

there were difficulties, for this was a dapper newcomer with his superior airs, his Harvard accent, and Continental manners and dress; but ability was there, and within two years the University of Pennsylvania offered him an unheard-of appointment to conduct a one-year study of Negro life in the city of Philadelphia. He had to devise his own methods and criteria of procedure, and train his crew of investigators. It was a delicate undertaking, for he sensed that its real purpose was to prove a theory that many of the social problems of Philadelphia might be laid at the doorstep of the impoverished Negro portion of the community. The Philadelphia Negro--as the completed report was titled--by statistical evidence that was incontrovertible, proved just the opposite, that the life of the Negro in Philadelphia was the product of the Negro's treatment by that city. This was the first work in urban sociology in the United States and one of the first in the world, and it was to the credit of the University that the findings, though distasteful to the city fathers, were published by the University Press.

Simultaneously, Harvard University honoured DuBois by publishing his doctoral dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America, as the first volume in a projected series of Harvard Historical Studies.

Atlanta University in the heart of the Southern state of Georgia invited this rising scholar to teach in its new Sociology Department, where he was to labour the next thirteen years. A conscientious instructor, he set demanding standards for his students with respect both to their classroom conduct and their personal deportment. Today we should call him over-zealous and perhaps tyrannical, but there was a logic underlying this Spartan code. At the turn of the Century, which saw the repression of the emancipated Negro and the enactment of the infamous "Jim Crow" Laws on all Southern statute books, the white majority was justifying its behaviour towards the Negro on the grounds of racial inferiority, moral irresponsibility, and the lack of intellectual capacity. DuBois was merciless in criticizing any sign of neglect, laxity, rowdiness, or intemperance on the part of his students that might give substance to the accepted stereotypes of Negro behaviour. At the same time, he was tireless in counseling with his students as to their work habits, personal problems and future professional appointments. Despite some resentment of his strictness, the end result was the creation of a body of trained Negro sociologists, scientists and scholars, who, in retrospect, recalled his stern admonitions with gratitude and his personal friendship with affection.

The home which he created with his wife was that mixture of practical simplicity and yet aesthetic feeling that was to characterize his whole life, for he loved the good things and believed in enjoying them, provided they did not detract from duty. This first Atlanta home was a place of repose, friendly warmth for the stranger, and affection within the family circle. In all his writing, there is nothing more poignant than the cry of the heart which he uttered on the death of their first-born son. "Love sat beside his cradle, and in his ear Wisdom waited to speak. Perhaps now he knows the All-Love, and needs not to be wise. Sleep, then, child--sleep till I sleep and waken to a baby voice and ceaseless patter of little feet--above the Veil."

Only personal sorrow enables a man fully to enter the tragedy of another human being and permits the poet to shoulder the accumulated burden of a people's suffering. It was no easy thing for this tight-lipped, grief-stricken New England intellectual to undertake a full encounter with his humble brethren in the Deep South. Yet this is what he now attempted, breaking out of his reticences and moving among the illiterate and impoverished working people on the land. Taking voluminous notes of all he saw and heard, he distilled some of his impressions in essays that appeared in national magazines. An alert editor, A.C. McClurg, recognizing their novelty and intrinsic beauty of expression, offered to publish a volume of them. DuBois consented and there shortly appeared that classic of United States' literature, The Souls of Black Folk. Nothing like this had ever been written before. The response to it was immediate and dramatic, for this was a work so powerful in its appeal to the emotions that each reader was instantly won over or repelled by it. Here, in a nation assiduously cultivating the myth of Negro inferiority, and soothing its conscience with the fiction that the Negro, being what he was, felt contentment with his lot, there spoke his sensitive, cultivated, rhapsodic voice. "You are living with a lie," it said in substance. "We have the same emotions and aspirations you have, if only you would permit us to give expression to them. Life within the Veil for us is hell. You do all in your power to evade the truth; you cannot, for I, like Orpheus, will wing such words that you will have to listen to me." And men and women did listen, for, like thetones of a vibrant bell, The Souls of Black Folk tolled the death of all such myths and sounded the tocsin of a great new day.

Like polished ebony were these essays and they had enduring substance. While in them DuBois carefully avoided direct attack upon the leading Negro figure of the country, it was nonetheless made abundantly clear that a great gulf existed between DuBois and Booker T. Washington on issues of policy and programme for the uplift of the Negro people in the United States. In

a famous address at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Mr. Washington had proposed a compromise by which the Negro would not ask for social or political equality in return for a pledge that he would be provided with industrial training and the opportunity to take a place in the rapidly expanding commercial and industrial economy of the nation then engaged in a period of post-war boom. Mr. Washington's proposal had been welcomed with relief by the South and with enthusiasm by the North, where wealthy industrialists banded together to pour funds into Negro institutions designed to fulfill these limited objectives. DuBois declared in contrast, that, while this might be a necessary conciliatory move for the moment, with immediate dividends in terms of the expansion of such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee and Fisk, the long-range results would prove disastrous. The Negro in the United States would be doomed to second-rate citizenship, second-rate education, and second-rate employment opportunity, a prediction which fifty years of national history have proven correct. Instead, DuBois advocated the finest Negro education possible, on a par with the best the white world enjoyed in the United States and abroad; and he called for a start with the ablest Negro youth--"The Talented Tenth," who should prepare themselves for the education of their people. A roar of savage protest greeted these suggestions. By the white majority he was accused of advocating social equality and by the current Negro leadership he was misrepresented and condemned for proposing a Negro elite.

Tuskegee had become the intellectual capital of Negro America, thanks to the attention and financial support it was receiving, and an effort was made to win over the brilliant professor from Atlanta University and add him to the Tuskegee faculty. A fateful meeting took place in New York City, participated in by such industrial giants as Andrew Carnegie; railroad presidents such as William H. Baldwin of the Long Island and later the Pennsylvania Railroad; and investment bankers such as George Foster Peabody, the Georgia-born millionaire philanthropist; and others of such calibre. DuBois was taken to Baldwin's Long Island estate where in the privacy of his home the talk became more candid and blunt. DuBois was invited to come to Tuskegee; the price of the appointment was the moderation of his views and his submission to the policies and programme of the Tuskegee leadership. There took place no meeting of minds. DuBois returned to Atlanta more certain than ever of the ultimate outcome of the Tuskegee programme under such outwardly courteous but inwardly ruthless economic patronage, and more certain also as to the essential rightfulness of his own views, which he now vowed to himself to advance by every means at his disposal.

On July 9, 1905, in response to a call he addressed privately to a select list of colored men, summoning them to a conference to project an aggressive programme for Negro advancement, fifty nine men in seventeen states indicated their willingness to meet together. Twenty nine from four-

teen states indicated their willingness to meet together. Twenty nine from fourteen states actually did gather clandestinely in a small hotel near Fort Erie on Canadian soil. Safety and privacy were undoubtedly considerations but so many of the public acts of DuBois in later life were designed to have symbolic qualities that it may not be in error to look for the symbol here. In the days of the Abolition Movement and the Underground Railroad, it was the suspension Bridge just below Niagara Falls that constituted for the fugitive slave the gateway to freedom. In the double meanings inherent in the Spirituals and Freedom Songs that DuBois loved so dearly, it was both about this bridge and heaven that such words were sung as these:

Glory to God and Jesus, too,
One more soul got safe!
Oh, go carry the news,
One more soul got safe!

The following year, the same group that had gathered in Canada, with even more pointed symbolism, met openly in the old Fire House at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, where John Brown made his final stand and was captured by the Federal Troops. The group incorporated itself as "The Niagara Movement" and adopted an eight point programme of unequivocal militancy.

And yet, DuBois, even at this moment, was still primarily the scholar and sociological researcher. He had been pressing the United States' Commissioner of Labour to finance a study of all the factors of Negro life in a single area in the Deep South. The request was finally granted and Lownes County in the black-soil belt of Alabama was selected. DuBois with his team of investigators began their work under circumstances of no little personal danger. They met resistance, harassment, and shotgun blasts. This is how DuBois was away from home when the telegraph brought the terrifying news that violence had erupted in Atlanta, armed white mobs were roaming the streets, the city was drenched in blood, the university buildings half-demolished, the Dean of the Theological School so beaten that he never recovered, and Mrs. DuBois injured in a manner that contributed to her invalidism in later life, and their daughter, Yolande, saved by hiding in a stair well. DuBois took the night train for home. Sleepless and in an agony of apprehension, he composed his Litany of Atlanta, the most biting and savage excoriation ever to come from his pen.

The sullen city to which he returned has been described by the Dean of American Negro Poets, Prof. Sterling Brown, in An Old Woman Remembers:

....our folks got sick and tired
Of being chased and beaten and shot down.
All of a sudden, one day, they all got sick and tired.
The Servants they put down their mops and pans.
And brooms and hoes and rakes and coachman whips,
Bad niggers stopped their drinking Dago red,
Good Negroes figured they had prayed enough.
All came back home--they'd been away too long--
A lot of visitors had been looking for them.
They sat on their front stoops and in their yards,
Not talking much, but ready; their welcome ready:
Their shotguns oiled and loaded on their knees.
And then
There wasn't any riot any more.

The Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, now thirty eight years of age, was in the midst of interior crisis. He had been reared in the confident, optimistic, idealistic Harvard tradition of Josiah Royce and William James, trusting in the power of truth to conquer all. Here he was faced with the antithesis of truth--the hideous depths of human depravity and naked cruelty. A widely-read man, he had encountered the writings of Karl Marx in Germany, and as early as 1904 had joined the Socialist Party of the United States. He was not unfamiliar with the work of Sigmund Freud on the Unconscious. Now these elements of knowledge, which had hitherto been sub-dominant in his thinking, rose to the surface. With utter clarity he saw that violence springs from economic privilege and is the instrumentality of those determined to remain in the seats of possession.

In his historical researches, DuBois had been attracted to the enigmatic figure of John Brown of North Elba and Ossawatomie. Conventional historians had dismissed John Brown as a religious fanatic and crazed man of violence. As DuBois examined the records afresh, a more significant and delineated personality emerged. In John Brown he saw a man of Old Testament proportions who had come face to face with slavery in Kansas, and had come to hate it with all his being. He was not obsessed, but committed to slavery's destruction. He was not embarked upon a quixotic venture, futile from the start, but engaged in a shrewd and calculated enterprise in which he planned to utilize the protection of the Dismal Swamps and the Allegheny Mountains as fortress and redoubt for what we now would call guerrilla warfare. John Brown was the one white man in the whole United States who had won the confidence of Negroes, from Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman to the lowliest of men and women, the one leader to whom they might respond in numbers. For reasons beyond John Brown's control, the strategic plan miscarried, but the

gaunt, venerable prophet, in his final martyrdom as he stood in Charles' Town Court House and then beneath the gallows, spoke words that electrified the nation and the world.

In Herman Melville's epic, Moby Dick, there is a passage that illuminates for me what DuBois found in John Brown at this turning point in DuBois' own life:

> Men seem detestable as joint stock companies and nations; knaves, fools, and murderers there may be; men may have lean and meagre faces; but man, in the ideal, is so noble and sparkling, such a grand and glorious creature, that over any ignominious blemish in him all his fellows should run to throw their costliest garments.

Faced with the cruelty and mendacity of the human species, as he was witnessing it through Negro eyes in the United States, his work on John Brown reminded him of the other side of the minted coin, that ideal quality of which Melville spoke--the nobility of the same human species, incarnate in the individual who sacrifices himself for the cause of all, and thereby shakes the earth and shapes the future.

Neither then nor in later life was DuBois a pacifist. It is true that in his celebrated Credo he asserted that "War is Murder" but the war he had in mind was "the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger...." In later life, speaking of this period with that candor which was natural to him, he wrote, "I had assumed that the path of human progress lay necessarily through war, and that if the coloured peoples of the world and those of America ever secured their rights as human beings, it would be through organized violence against their white oppressors."

The road that DuBois was taking, once he had rejected the overtures of the Tuskegee group and had called into being the Niagara Movement, placed the President of Atlanta University in a most difficult position. He was a young man just come to the riot-damaged institution, which desperately needed financial help to re-build its campus and expand its faculty and facilities. Carnegie, Baldwin and the other industrial sponsors of the Tuskegee group made it abundantly clear to President Ware that financial grants would be dependent upon the prior removal of "certain hindrances." The President so informed DuBois, who, realizing

he was the real "hindrance" and loving the university, knew that the time for his departure was come.

The lynching of a Negro in Springfield, Illinois, the home and burial place of Abraham Lincoln, on the centennial of the Great Emancipator's birth, shocked the nation. It set into motion a group of Negro and white leaders, DuBois among them, acting under the impetus of The Niagara Movement, to form the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, historically the most important Negro organization in the United States down to the present day. It quickly and quietly absorbed the members of the Niagara Movement. DuBois was asked to become its Director of Publications. The objective scholar was about to become the flaming propagandist.

In 1910, Crisis appeared. It was a monthly, financed independently and managed so successfully that, for all purposes, it was the instrument for the advancement of DuBois' own views. At its zenith, it had 100,000 readers. This meant that it went every month into one-tenth of the Negro homes of the entire nation. Scarcely 10,000 Negroes had attended any college and the vast majority of Negroes in the United States were still illiterate or semi-literate. DuBois so planned each issue of "Crisis" that this vast readership breathlessly awaited the arrival of each new number, when the literate member of each family, and sometimes a whole clan, would read it aloud to the assembled gathering. An editorial page, As the Crow Flies, always carried DuBois' own winged message. In it he was reporter, agitator, instructor, inspirer. The hall mark stamped on every page was the spiritual declaration--it is a thing of pride to be a Negro.

"Crisis" called for nothing less than full equality. DuBois expressed its programme when he wrote in his famous "Credo," "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or little less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans."

"Crisis" combined literary quality and broad popular appeal. DuBois devised all kinds of contests with prizes for poems, short stories, essays, one act dramas, pictures of the prettiest Negro baby or the High School or college graduate currently receiving the most significant academic

honour. With the aid of one secretary who could type, and writing most of his letters long hand himself, he conducted a mountainous correspondence in search of manuscripts, pictures, and art work for the covers, acknowledging the contributions accepted and explaining those returned, lest the senders be discouraged. In this manner, he discovered and encouraged two generations of Negro poets, writers, dramatists, and artists. The one-act plays that appeared in "Crisis" were made available at a modest royalty for presentation in churches, schools, and fraternal lodges, in an endeavour to create a Negro Theatre.

The historian, Herbert Aptheker, who has had access to the files of this Crisis correspondence, writes: "Among his scores of thousands of letters--every one carefully preserved--are thousands from the worker and the peon, the aspiring adolescent, whose heart was bleeding, the sharecropper whose indignities overflowed in painfully written notes, the women who scrubbed and dreamed. The most scorned and the most despised--the prisoner, the beggar, the prostitute--poured their hearts out to him. You are our voice, they wrote; speak for us. Every letter was read and every letter was answered--the copies are all preserved; and the answers were full and serious and helpful and dignified. DuBois' letters to these--to the 'unknowns,' to what the monstrous elite call the 'mudsill of society'--show more pains than his letters to presidents and savants."

The same scrupulous methods that he had required on campus and in his historical and sociological researches, he now applied to the management of the magazine. Advertising was examined to eliminate the fraudulent and meretricious. Even colleges appealing for students had first to submit brochures and photos of their buildings in proof of their legitimacy, because he would not further spurious institutions or degree-conferring mills. He accepted no money from cosmeticians promising to alter or eliminate African characteristics. Scrupulous concerning subscriptions and all business transactions, he employed an auditor and annually printed a statement of the magazine's accounts. He was determined to establish an impeccable standard that would serve as a model to his people not yet schooled in business practice and all-too-often the victims of needless fraud and financial failure.

During these years in New York City, he lived modestly within his salary and such other income as occasional royalties and fees afforded, refusing to borrow money, even if the result was the postponement of some cherished plan. One such delay helped shape his most substantial work. In 1910 the American Historical Association had invited him to

read a paper before an annual gathering. He had prepared an essay on the contribution of the Southern Negro in the period of Reconstruction that followed the Civil War. Since he did not have a publisher and would not borrow the money to publish it himself, he set it aside and kept revising and enlarging the manuscript. Twenty-five years later he broke down, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund disregarded its rules, and the loan was negotiated that brought Black Reconstruction to the light of day, a monumental study, without reference to which no serious historian can turn to that key period in the history of the United States.

His living in New York City and the comparative freedom which the magazine gave him permitted his involvement in new and wider concerns. In 1900 the United States Government had employed him to prepare an exhibit for the Paris Exhibition. The trip abroad made possible his attending a Pan-African Conference being held in London. It was then that the seminal concept of a free and united Africa was planted in his mind. It originated with a brilliant West Indian barrister, Henry Sylvester Williams from Jamaica, but it took possession of DuBois.

In 1911, he and Felix Adler were back in London as the secretaries of the American section of the World Races Congress, when DuBois spoke twice in the Great Hall of the University of London. The militant cast of his mind is indicated by the anecdote he told of meeting "a coloured man who explained to me his plan of leading a black army out of Africa and across the Pyrenees. I was thrilled at his earnestness."

He returned to the United States to make what he later confessed was one of the greatest errors of judgment in his life. Moved by unbridled hope in an initial political infatuation, he withdrew from the Socialist Party and threw his support and that of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People behind the candidacy of the Democratic Party candidate for the Presidency, Woodrow Wilson.

After World War I was concluded and President Wilson was preparing to sail for the Peace Conference at Versailles, DuBois sought the interest of Mr. Wilson in applying the principles of "the consent of the governed" and "government by representation" not only abroad but also at home where live "twelve million souls whose consent is never asked. They have no members in legislatures where they are in the majority, and not a single representative in the national Congress." Colonel House, the President's aide, listened to DuBois but no word in answer ever came from the President.

DuBois then turned to the French, who had involved 100,000 black African troops in the defence of their metropolitan home land. Premier Clemenceau permitted the holding of a Pan-African Congress in Paris, which called upon the new League of Nations to bring under review the status of African peoples, a demand that had some bearing on the establishing of the Mandates Commission. Two years later a more representative Pan-African Congress was held with successive sessions in London, Paris, and Brussels. Others were to follow, and one in Lisbon permitted DuBois to return home via Liberia. While he was there, the United States Department of State in Washington, for a combination of reasons, appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia and asked him to represent the United States at the inauguration of President King.

Despite this unusual honour, DuBois returned to the United States not only empty-handed but in the unhappy knowledge that the pronouncements of the successive Pan-African Congresses had angered the colonial and imperialist powers. President Wilson had failed to carry the United States into the League of Nations, the end of the war was witnessing a resurgence of anti-Negro repression, the Ku Klux Klan even had the affrontery to march down Constitution Avenue by the tens of thousands in their dread hooded regalia, and the capital of Washington was in process of becoming one of the most segregated cities of the nation. DuBois' disillusionment with Wilson was complete, and indeed with both the major political parties in the United States, the Democratic and Republican. But he had tasted politics and the need to be active in some viable political movement was strong. With such liberal Americans as Harry F. Ward, who incidentally, will be honoured on his 90th Birthday on October 15 in New York's Carnegie Hall; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, who is still alive but now an invalid, and Oswald Garrison Villard, he joined the Independent League for Industrial Democracy and in 1924 persuaded the executive committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People to support the third party candidacy of Farmer-Labour Governor LaFollette of Wisconsin. The mood of the nation was conservative, the presidency and Congress fell into Republican hands, the N.A.A.C.P. decided never again to make partisan political endorsements, and DuBois, a sadder and wiser man, returned to his editorial and scholarly work.

But the larger world he had glimpsed was calling him and in 1928 he obtained a grant to visit Germany which he had not seen since his student days. He was shocked by the ravages of war that were still in evidence, and by the changes wrought since the war that were slowly preparing the psychological soil for the Hitler eruption. Continuing into Eastern Europe, he paid the first of his several visits to the Soviet Union. The ethical and economic attraction which he had found in socialism as early as 1904

now took on substantial strength. From Europe he returned with two indelible impressions that increasingly were to mould the balance of his life. The first was a consciousness of the utter destructiveness of modern war and its futility as an instrument of social progress. The second was the conviction that a radically different mode of human social and economic organization was no longer just a human dream but now an imposing fact of history. His visit to the Soviet Union, he wrote, "was for me a never-to-be-forgotten experience, and it strengthened my basic belief in Socialism as the one great road to progress."

This growing conviction concerning socialism was further strengthened by the national catastrophe of the Great Depression which struck the United States in 1929. Every element in the economic structure of the nation was affected by the impact and dislocation of these days. The Negro community suffered from the ensuing unemployment and the hardships it brought. For the DuBoises it meant the loss of their personal savings and what little property they possessed. Here once again the life-time habit of living frugally within their means stood them well. They survived and made their contribution to the success of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal.

In 1936, thanks to a fellowship offered him to study industrial education in Germany, he again visited that country for five months, and then went on to Moscow, from which he later took the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Manchuria. Two months were spent in China and Japan, after which he returned to the United States by way of Hawaii. This first brief impression of two of the major areas of Asia opened his eyes to the mass poverty and hopeless misery of the majority of the human race, and it enlarged his concept of the potential place of the coloured peoples of the world, provided they could be freed from the chains of the colonial and imperialistic past, and the latent energies of mind and body utilized in their own development.

Western Civilization--with the rise of Hitler, the Italian rape of Ethiopia, the opening of the Spanish Civil War, and the Western-copied imperialistic venture of Japan on the mainland of China--as far as Du Bois was concerned--lay exposed on the dissecting table and the pathology was not a pretty thing. Thoroughly disturbed by all that was transpiring, DuBois sought the refuge of a needed point of reference with time to reflect. When Atlanta University invited him to return to its faculty, he accepted gladly, writing in that jaunty good humour that followed decisions once they were made, that he was ready to go back "to my ivory tower."

Eight years of teaching, lecturing, writing and research carried him through the wartime period. The literary production of these years was considerable, for to his credit were now added two volumes more of essays; a novel, Dark Princess, that won wide attention as the first attempt by a Negro in the United States to employ the novel as a form of literature, and because its characters were concerned with the past, the present and the future of the African peoples, a new theme in United States' fiction; the beginnings of an autobiography, Dusk of Dawn, which he insisted was not personal but the autobiography of a concept of race; and the introductory study for a proposed Negro Encyclopaedia that was the precursor of the Encyclopaedia Africana, for which your Government so considerately brought him to Ghana in his final years.

So we find DuBois at the end of World War II without question the most distinguished Negro scholar and literary figure in the United States, and a man of vision whose mind, through study, travel, research and reflection, was reaching out to embrace the tragedy and aspirations of the mass populations of the world. In 1900 he had stated prophetically, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colour line." It was a remarkable statement when it was made but as mid-century approached, he wished to amend it somewhat. "I still think today as yesterday," he wrote, "that the colour line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and colour, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease for the majority of their fellowmen; that to maintain this privilege men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this continues largely to be colour and race."

The post-war world and its organization was seizing the minds of American leadership and it was logical that the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, putting aside its former differences with its old editor of Crisis, invited him, the greatest authority available to them, to become a Special Research Consultant. DuBois, who never held grudges or nourished resentments, accepted the proffered opportunity and, in light of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the burgeoning peace movement, went to work on a book, Colour and Democracy, which called for a re-organized post-war world

in which consideration for the wishes of colonial peoples should be respected and no re-shuffling of territories should be indulged-in as at the close of the First World War. DuBois was sent to San Francisco to present a Memorial to the Assembly calling the United Nations into being, and then in 1945 was empowered to assist in the revival of the Pan-African Congresses, when he made the working acquaintance of George Padmore and the man who was to become your inspiration and first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

On his return to the United States, DuBois went to work on the researches that lay behind his book, The Negro and Africa, and affiliated with the Council on African Affairs, which had been started in New York City by Max Yergan, Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, Frederic V. Field and others.

In the spring of 1946 at a small college town in Fulton, Missouri, Mr. Winston Churchill was awarded a degree and the occasion was used by him for a speech that is now recognized historically as the official declaration that the cooperation of wartime between the West and the Soviet Union was over and a new period was about to begin. The new President of the United States, Mr. Truman, followed on. In the year that followed the political climate in the United States underwent a profound and frightening change. Whatever name you wish to use for those in power in a nation, whether it be the power elite, the power structure, the ruling class or what Mr. Eisenhauer called "The military-industrial complex," it was abundantly clear that this decisive source of social and economic direction inside the United States, confident of its relative economic power vis-a-vis the prostrate post war world, and in possession of the initial nuclear weapons, saw no further need of international cooperation but elected the development of a community of expanding economic interest and the policy of containment with respect to the spread of socialism. To change the thinking of the United States citizens in conformity with this new policy, every means of public persuasion was set in motion, and to ensure there should be no significant resistance, there was published in the fall of 1947 the first of several long lists of organizations in the United States to be called "subversive." It was not surprising that among those first listed was the Council on African Affairs. Internationally-minded and progressive organizations all felt the public pressure of this official pillorying. One after another, the conformists within their leadership bowed to the currents of conformity and sought the ejection of those who stood on principle by their original programatic undertakings.

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People found that DuBois's continued fidelity to the Council on African Affairs, his sharp and incisive denunciations of colonial post-war policies, and his penetrating analyses of the economic motivations of the cold war--were offensive. When the Doctor followed up his written words with political action and sought to persuade the N.A.A.C.P. leadership to endorse the campaign of Mr. Henry Wallace for the presidency on the Progressive Party ticket, as in 1924 he had persuaded them to support Governor LaFollette, the final breach was forced, and DuBois again was out on the street for his convictions. An office was found for him in the reconstituted Council on African Affairs where he continued his work. I am not going to detail this period for it is better known to you than the earlier and formative years of his life but now it was that he took to the political hustings, running for the Senatorship of New York State on the Progressive Party. He spoke wherever he could, brief, pungent, incisive addresses, always written meticulously and read carefully to attentive audiences, which, when he concluded, removed his ribboned glasses, bowed slightly, and sat down, usually remained stunned by the terse speech, and then burst into appreciative applause. There was nothing being said throughout the country quite like these addresses. They were analyses of the cold war and a call for a socialist United States no longer economically and commercially driven to expansion but through intelligent planning and social ownership able to play a peaceful role in a changing world.

These were difficult personal times, because the illness of Mrs. DuBois had developed into a condition of invalidism; expensive medical care was required, some of which was defrayed with the help of Progressive Party friends. The campaign was a bitter disappointment, for Mr. Truman, with all the shrewdness of Madison Avenue promotion techniques, made peace the issue and so beclouded the atmosphere that the Third Party Movement, which was the real party of peace, while it drew vast crowds, did not receive the votes; and perhaps some deep-seated public sense of apprehension at the interior strength of Mr. Henry Wallace was involved as well. He was a man not ready to make a real break, such as the times required, with the capitalist economy of the United States, and when the logic of leadership required him to cross the Rubicon and never turn back, he could not take the step. For the Doctor, the cup of bitterness and sorrow was full, when to all else was added the death of his beloved wife.

Yet, where any other human being would have resigned himself to old age and death, there remained a latent vigour and vitality that suddenly were to be challenged to accomplish what history may well consider the most important contribution of the Doctor's entire life.

His concern about the motivations of the cold war, and his fear of the misuse of the new atomic weapons, led him to accept his first invitation to attend an international peace conference and before long he had become a member of the World Peace Council, for he had come to see that the powerful forces at work within the United States had such terrific momentum that they would need the check of world opinion to hold them in leash. When the peace forces outside the United States sought some distinguished figure to form a group of United States citizens to create a Peace Information Centre in their own country to disseminate information about the world peace movement, and when that Centre undertook successfully to circulate the Stockholm Peace Pledge calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons, it was Dr. DuBois, the world figure, the hope-inspired friend of socialist developments and the ferment of African Nationalism, who gave the leadership. He knew the risks, and he met them courageously when the brutal blow fell upon him and his associates. Under a law requiring the "Registration of Foreign Agents," he and his associates were arrested and arraigned before a Federal Grand Jury. This venerable man on his 83rd birthday suffered the humiliation of being finger-printed and photographed in handcuffs, and was publicly indicted as a criminal, liable to a prison sentence that at his age would surely encompass his death. "I have faced during my lifetime many unpleasant experiences," wrote Dr. DuBois, "the growl of a mob, the personal threat of murder.... But nothing has cowed me as that day when I took my seat in a Washington courtroom as an indicted criminal."

It was a political frame-up, and so the element within the United States that retained its sanity and of course world opinion understood it. From every State of the country and from many nations abroad came protestations of shock and horror. The Doctor and his associates were ultimately acquitted. But the damage was done to him, as it was similarly done to so many other progressive and world-minded American writers, artists, actors and film-makers, trade unionists, teachers, clergymen--indeed, any one in a position to influence public opinion against the national policy. The United States Congress established the House Un-American Activities Committee to proscribe and destroy dissenters, and passed the "Internal Security Acts of 1950 and 1954," designed to render the Communist Party inoperative, to shatter the Left, to frighten and split the Liberals of good will, and generally render difficult the discussion and advocacy of social change.

The wonderful thing is, that against this ugly background, life began to reward the Doctor in so many surprising ways. Beyond a doubt, the greatest benefaction was his marriage to the brilliant young writer, Shirley Graham, which brought to him the loveliest blessing a man can have, intellectual and domestic comradeship and the awareness, since he knew that time must one day run out, that there would be an amanuensis and legatee to complete his work. And there came a home on a shaded street on Brooklyn Heights, nor far from my parish church, where friends gathered; and to go there, especially when the United Nations was in session across the river in Manhattan, was to find the great of the earth wending their way to the DuBois' home, until a State Department, revengeful, declared Brooklyn out of bounds to diplomats from socialist countries.

From this new home, he and Shirley went abroad as the guests of the World Peace Movement, visited Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which honoured the Doctor by presenting him with the Lenin International Peace Award, and then, the final and greatest thrill of the Doctor's entire lifetime, his reception in the People's Republic of China, when his birthday was made the occasion of national veneration, and the world's oldest and richest civilization paid its tribute to the wisdom and integrity of one who could well adorn its scarlet silken tapestries as the symbol of Old Age at its wonderful flood-tide. We, the Doctor's friends in the United States, who are being kept at arm's length from familiarity with the New China, saw the light in the Doctor's eyes, when he compared the China he had visited in 1936 and this newly aroused multitude of people who have learned a road out of their hopelessness into strength and happiness.

In the United States during these cold war years there has been a cultivated indoctrination of the idea that socialism is evil and war against its spread inevitable. Against such irresponsible and uninformed talk Dr. DuBois spoke out in no uncertain words. "One thing I know," he wrote in The Black Flame, "Today, more than ever, war is utterly evil and completely indefensible in terms of human morals or decency or civilization. Nothing on earth is so completely useless, so inexcusably vile. War no longer brings victory to either side. It is planned and deliberate murder of human beings, the complete destruction of the earth's treasures... Down with war! Never again war. War is the bottomless pit to which human beings have fallen in this 20th century of the miscalled Prince of Peace!"

In the Old Testament, it is written that the Lord spoke to Moses and said, "This day have I set before you Life and Death, Good and Evil; choose ye, therefore, Life and Good."

In modern humanistic terms the great Leo Tolstoi restated his ancient dictum: "I say that there is an absolute good and an absolute bad; for all that unites is good and beautiful; and all that separates humanity is absolutely bad and ugly." DuBois cited these words with great approval and made them his own, quoting James Russell Lowell's words about Truth:

> Those love her best, who to themselves are true,
> And what they dare to dream of, dare to do.

There was yet one final gracious benefaction to be bestowed upon the Doctor as his life drew to its noble end--the invitation from your President to him, suggesting that he come to Ghana, to live and work, and draw upon his amazing store of erudition and experience in planning an Encyclopaedia Africana. Of his stay here, and the many satisfactions he enjoyed amongst you, there is no need to speak, save this; in the name of all the Doctor's many friends throughout the United States, may I voice our heartfelt appreciation and gratitude for the almost filial protection and affection your President has shown to our beloved friend, and for all that life and citizenship and now honored burial in Ghana, have meant and mean for him.

Death has now come to him, as it must come to all men. In anticipation of that day, long years ago, he wrote words that may well serve as his epitaph:

> Farewell! No sound of idle mourning let there be
> to shudder this full silence--save the voice
> Of children--little children, white and black,
> Whispering the deeds I tried to do for them;
> While I at last unguided and alone
> Pass softly, full softly.

The news came to us dramatically. Miss Brewer, who has sung these beautiful spirituals he so dearly loved, and I were both in Washington, in the vast throng of two hundred and fifty thousand people gathered before the marble Lincoln Memorial, when the announcement of the death of Dr. DuBois was made, and a vast silence ensued. A woman was overheard to cry out, "It is just like Moses. He was not

given to enter the Promised Land." For myself, I wondered. Perhaps he was, in the sense he coveted. (For every informed person in that greatest throng ever gathered in a demonstration in our nation's capital knew that it was the end result of his inspiration.)

So, to his "Farewell" to us, we must now say our "Farewell" to him. "You, dear W.E.B., have been for all of us one of the Great Companions, Journeyer in your sublime old age, calm, expanded, broad with the haughty breadth of the universe, and yet at the same time, O enjoyer of life and lover of children, the sharer in our simplicities. You have enabled us to believe once more that Man, in the ideal, is so noble and sparkling, such a grand and glorious creature, that over any ignominious blemish in him, and in you, we shall ever run to throw our costliest garments."

In that Song of the Road the poet you so loved, concludes:

"To know the universe itself is a road,
as many roads,
as roads for travelling souls...
Forever alive, forever forward,
Stately, solemn, sad, withdrawn,
baffled, mad, turbulent, feeble, dissatisfied,
Desperate, proud, fond, sick,
Accepted by men, rejected by men,
They go! They go!
I know that they go,
but I know not where they go;
But I know that they go toward the best--
Toward something great."

-.-.-.-.-

APPENDIX

A. DUBOIS CHRONOLOGY SUMMARY

DuBois founded five magazines--MOON, HORIZON, PHYLON, THE CRISIS, THE BROWNIES BOOK, and he helped to establish FREEDOMWAYS.

Founder of the militant Niagara movement and one of the principal leaders in the creation of the NAACP which the Niagara membership joined in a body to give the much-needed immediate black base to the new organization.

Wrote 20 fine books.

Contributed to over 50 important American magazines--wrote for more than 100!

Taught in four American colleges--Wilberforce, University of Penn, Atlanta University, and the New School of Social Research.

Wrote hundreds of important editorials and essays and contributed chapters to many anthologies.

More than any other person helped to create the Negro intelligentsia.

Originated many of the ideas and programs used in modern civil rights movement and for this he has deservedly been called the "Father of the Civil Rights Movement."

Delivered many lectures to groups in Europe, Asia, Africa during 15 extended trips abroad. And, of course, he lectured tirelessly in the United States for more than half a century.

Formulated and wrote several important documents for organizations--documents which are, now with the great revival of interest in DuBois, rapidly coming to be considered important papers helping to form the liberal, democratic American tradition.

Lived out his 95 years in a manner consistent with his great ideals thus providing a life example which is in itself an inspiration.

One of the most active world leaders in six great Pan-African conventions and is credited with having helped to create two African states--Ghana and Liberia. For this Herculean labor he is considered a saint by many black people throughout the world.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CHRONOLOGY

1868, February 23	Born in the Berkshire Hills of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, son of Mary Silvina (nee Burghardt) DuBois and Alfred DuBois.
1875-1884	Attended public school in Great Barrington. Graduated from high school in 1884. Was Valedictorian speaker with subject: "Wendell Phillips."
1885-1888	Attended Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee. Taught summer school for two years in back-country Tennessee school to augment his Fisk scholarship of $100 a year provided by hometown minister. Editor of the FISK HERALD.
1888	Entered Harvard as a junior.
1890	Won his B.A. at Harvard. As a commencement speaker--one of six--chose subject: Jefferson Davis as representative of Southern civilization. Wide attention given his address.
1892-1894	Student at University of Berlin with a Slater Fund grant. Toured Europe for first time (during lifetime made 15 extended trips abroad--to Europe, Asia, Africa).
1896	Won Ph.D. at Harvard. His theses "Suppression of the Slave Trade in the United States" was printed as Volume 1 in famous Harvard University History series. (Recently reprinted after over 70 years!)
1896	Became professor of Greek and Latin at Wilberforce College in Ohio.
1896	Married student, pretty Nina Gomer of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Marriage was successful. After her death 50 years later (she is buried in the Mahaiwe Cemetary in Great Barrington), in 1951 DuBois married Shirley Graham, the writer. She survived him and resides abroad.

1897 — Instructor for a year at University of Pennsylvania (except for a brief period of teaching at the New School of Social Research in New York City, this was the only opportunity in his life as educator to teach in a white university, and, although several white universities--including Harvard--gave honorary degrees to Booker T. Washington, none has ever been given to DuBois). Also in this year he did his famous sociological research which was published in 1899, PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. (This was also recently reprinted after a 65-year wait!)

1900 — Active participant as secretary for--and wrote report for first of the great Pan-African congresses, held in London.

1900 — Son Burghardt (3-years old) died. Buried in Great Barrington.

1897-1910 — Professor of economics and history at Atlanta University. Supervised research and wrote reports for famous "Atlanta Studies" printed as 16 monographs on many phases of Southern race relations--first important sociological studies made in America. THE NEW YORK TIMES reprinted these monographs--after 60 years!--in 1968.

Daughter Yolande born. She later married Countee Cullen.

1903 — Wrote SOULS OF BLACK FOLK which won him recognition as one of the two great Negro leaders of the century. Over 30 reprintings.

1906 — Founded THE MOON, a magazine published in Memphis. In 1907 founded HORIZON, a magazine published in Washington, D.C. These publications may be considered the parents of THE CRISIS which he founded in 1910.

1905-1909 — Created the Niagara Movement, the militant civil rights body which later merged with the young NAACP--which DuBois also helped to create--giving to the NAACP its much-needed black base. Several influential Niagara annual conferences--Niagara, Canada, Harper's Ferry, W. Va., Boston, and Oberlin, Ohio.

1909	Wrote his book JOHN BROWN.
1909	Completed elaborate plans and outlines--with international sponsorship of scholars, including William Jones and Franz Boas--for a great comprehensive ENCYCLOPEDIA AFRICANA. Later published outline volume of this. But unable to finance the plan until the Republic of Ghana invited DuBois to that country in his 91st year.
1909-1910	Active member of the group which founded the NAACP. Became director of publicity and research. Founded the CRISIS, possibly the most influential journal ever published in the United States, which he edited continuously until 1934 when he resigned over policy conflict in the NAACP.
1911	Wrote sociological novel THE QUEST OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.
1911	Attended Universal Races Congress in England.
1911	Joined Socialist Party. Became an editor of a radical magazine THE NEW REVIEW published in New York City.
1913	Wrote and produced important educational outdoor drama THE STAR OF ETHIOPIA in New York City. Later shown to great audiences in Philadelphia, Washington, and Hollywood.
1916	Amenia, N. Y. Conference. DuBois now most influential Negro leader.
1917-1919	Although DuBois hated war, he supported the United States in World War 1 on "lesser evil" basis. Worked for Negro officer-training school in Des Moines. Wrote controversial editorial "Close Ranks" for THE CRISIS. The first great test of his idea of "voluntary race segregation" as a tactic. Went to Paris for NAACP during peace period. Made important findings of official discrimination by American Government and military against Negro troops. Accumulated material for a book on the subject which he published in outline in THE CRISIS

in 1919. Took lead in founding the modern Pan-African movement with a Congress in Paris in 1919. May 1919 controversial editorial in THE CRISIS demanding equal rights for all colored peoples at home and abroad. Issue temporarily denied mailing privileges. Worked with Mandates Commission of League of Nations but was disappointed that the League did not take an anti-colonial position.

1920 — Wrote DARK WATER, a book of essays and creative writing which reveals DuBois as the master propagandist for racial justice.

1920 — Won coveted Spingarn Medal, which is awarded annually to most effective fighter for civil rights. He won it for his work in the Pan-African Congresses.

1920-1921 — Founded and helped to edit and write THE BROWNIE'S BOOK, a beautiful and effective publication aimed at the education of "our children of the sun" (especially that but for all children). It aimed at instilling race pride and the idea that "Black is Beautiful." Ran for two years but did not pay its way and there were no subsidies from white philanthropy.

1921 — One of leaders in calling Pan-African Congresses at Brussels, London, and Paris.

1923 — Represents the United States at inauguration of President Tubman of Liberia.

1924 — Writes GIFT OF BLACK FOLK.

1926 — Makes first visit to the Soviet Union. Wrote an important editorial on visit in THE CRISIS (Feb. 1927).

1927 — (average date) Helps create Harlem Renaissance, using his own influence and the pages of THE CRISIS. First publisher of many of the writers and artists of the movement. Founded Krigwa Players.

1927 — Helps organize Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York City.

1929--	Through the depression. Increasing radicalism and interest in voluntary self-segregation for black people as weapon to attack enforced segregation. Interest in business cooperation or black collectivism.
1934	Resigns from THE CRISIS and NAACP over two issues: (1) pluralism or black self-segregation, and (2) independence of THE CRISIS.
1934-1944	Back as educator. Atlanta University as head of Department of Sociology.
1935	Writes BLACK RECONSTRUCTION.
1940	Founds influential opinion and literary journal (still published) at Atlanta University. Gave it the name PHYLON.
1943	Organizes Conference of Land-Grant Colleges as part of his plan for a great system of southern Negro universities.
1936	Extended world tour of study and observation.
1939	Writes BLACK FOLK, THEN AND NOW.
1940	Writes DUSK OF DAWN.
1944	Tours Caribbean countries including Haiti and Cuba.
1944	Invited back to NAACP to head up special research work.
1945	NAACP sends DuBois, along with Walter White and Ralph Bunche, as official consultant to help in the work of founding United Nations. Using his experience obtained in 1919 working with League of Nations and Mandates Commission DuBois tries to get U.N. to take firm stand against colonialism and racial injustice in United States.
1945	Presides at Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England.
1945	Co-author with Dr. Guy B. Johnson of Encyclopedia of the Negro, a kind of preliminary, detailed outline of his plan for doing his Encyclopedia Africana which he proposed as early as 1909.

1945	Writes COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
1947	Writes "An Appeal to the World" for the NAACP and presents it as a proposed program to the United Nations. Argued that persecuted American Negro minority, which he called a "nation within a nation," should have international protection.
1947	Writes THE WORLD AND AFRICA.
1948	Final break with NAACP over policy and personality clash with Secretary Walter White.
1949	Attends various international peace conferences organized with the cooperation of left-wing groups in Paris, Moscow, and New York City. Peace was to be one of his chief concerns for the rest of his life.
1950	Candidate for U.S. Senator from New York on radical Progressive Party ticket.
1950-1951	Persecution and indictment on Federal charge of being an "unregistered foreign agent," because of his activities in circulating so-called Stockholm Peace Petition. Judge McGuire threw out indictment without trial. This embittered him till his death.
1951	Marries Shirley Graham. Writes In Battle For Peace.
1958-1959	Further travels to the East, China, Africa, Soviet Union.
1959	Soviet Academy of Sciences. Creates Institute for Study of Pan-African History using DuBois plan.
1957-1960	Writes "The Black Flame" trilogy of novels.
1960	Writes his long autobiography (published post-humously in 1968).
1961	At age of 93 joins the Communist Party.
1963	Becomes a citizen of Ghana. Begins work on his great Encyclopedia Africana. Dies. Given state funeral in Accra, Ghana.
1963 to date:	One of greatest revivals of his written words ever enjoyed by any American writer, white or black.

APPENDIX

B. Magazine Articles by W.E.B. DuBois Selected From the Fifty Major Publications to which he Contributed

"Enforcement of the Slave-Trade Laws," Annual Report of American Historical Association (1891).

"The Study of Negro Problems," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (1898).

"A Negro Schoolmaster in the New South," Atlantic Monthly (Jan. 1899).

"The Suffrage Fight in Georgia," Independent (Nov. 30, 1899).

"The Freedmen's Bureau," Atlantic Monthly (March, 1901).

"The Storm and Stress in the Black World," Dial (April 16, 1901).

"Results of Ten Tuskegee Conferences," Harper's Weekly (Jan. 22, 1901).

"The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (July, 1901).

"The Black North," New York Times (Nov. 17, 24; Dec. 1, 8, 15, 1901).

"The Opening of the Library," Independent (April 3, 1902).

"Of the Training of Black Men," Atlantic Monthly (September 1902).

"Possibilities of the Negro," Booklover's Magazine (July, 1903).

"The Laboratory in Sociology at Atlanta," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (May, 1903).

"The Training of Negroes for Social Power," Outlook (Oct. 17, 1903).

"The Negro Problem from the Negro Point of View," World Today, (April, 1904).

"The Development of a People," International Journal of Ethics, (April, 1904).

"Credo," Independent (October 6, 1904).

"American Negro at Paris," American Monthly Review of Reviews, (November, 1900).

"The Burden of Negro Schooling," Independent (July 18, 1901)

"The Negro as He Really Is," World's Work (June, 1901).

" The Negro and Crime," Independent (May 18, 1899).

"The Spawn of Slavery," Missionary Review of the World (October, 1901).

"The Religion of the American Negro," New World (December, 1900).

"The Freedmen and Their Sons," Independent (November 14, 1901).

"The Tragedy of Atlanta," World Today (November 1906).

"The Southerner's Problem," Dial (May 1, 1905).

"The Niagara Movement," Voice of the Negro (September, 1905).

"The Economic Future of the Negro," Publicationa of American Economic Association (February, 1906).

"A Litany at Atlanta," Independent (October 11, 1906).

"The Color Line Belts the World," Colliers (October 20, 1906).

"The Negro and Socialism," Horizon (February 1907).

"The Negro Question in the United States," written for Max Weber's magazine, Germany (1906).

"Race Friction Between Black and White," American Journal Sociology, (May, 1908).

"National Committee on the Negro," Survey (June 12, 1909).

"Socialism and the Negro Problem," New Review (February 1, 1913).

"The African Roots of War," Atlantic Monthly (May, 1915).

"The Negro in Literature and Art," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (September, 1913).

"Of the Culture of White Folk," Journal of Race Development (April, 1917).

"On Being Black," New Republic (February 18, 1920).

"The Republicans and the Black Voter," Nation (June 5, 1920).

"The South and a Third Party," New Republic (January 3, 1923).

"The Dilemma of the Negro," American Mercury (October, 1924).

"What is Civilization? Africa's Answer," Forum (February, 1925).

"Worlds of Color," Foreign Affairs (April, 1925).

"The Shape of Fear," North American Review (June, 1926).

"Liberia and Rubber," New Republic (November 18, 1925).

"Back to Africa," Century (February, 1923). (Marcus Garvey Editorial).

"The Primitive Black Man," Nation (December 17, 1924).

"Reconstruction and Its Benefits," American Historical Review (July, 1910).

"The Hampton Strike," Nation (November 2, 1927).

"Race Relations in the United States," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (November, 1928).

"Education and Work," Howard University Bulletin (January, 1931).

"Will the Church Remove the Color Line," Christian Century (December, 9, 1931).

"A Negro Nation Within the Nation," Current History (June, 1935).

"Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis, Foreign Affairs, (October, 1935).

"Social Planning for the Negro: Past and Present," Journal of Negro Education (January, 1936).

"Black Africa Tomorrow," Foreign Affairs (October, 1938).

"Where Do We Go From Here," Journal of Negro Education, (January, 1939).

"Chronicle of Race Relations," Phylon (1942, Ch.3, pp.105-115).

"The Realities in Africa," Foreign Affairs (July, 1943).

"Reconstruction; Seventy-five Years After," Phylon (1943, pp.205-212).

"Prospects of a World Without Race Conflict," American Journal of Sociology (March, 1944).

"What He Meant to the Negro," New Masses (FDR) (April 24,).

"Colonies and Moral Responsibility," Journal of Negro Education (Summer, 1946).

"Common Objectives," Soviet Russia Today (August, 1946).

"Behold the Land," New Masses (January 14, 1947).

"Can the Negro Expect Freedom by 1965," Negro Digest (April, 1947).

"The Most Hopeful State in the World," Soviet Russia Today (November, 1947).

"From McKinley to Wallace: My Fifty Years as a Political Independent," Masses and Mainstream (August, 1948).

"Race Relations in the United States, 1917-1947," Phylon (1948, Chapter 9, pp.234-247).

"The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report," New York Times Magazine (November 21, 1948).

"Negroes and the Crisis of Capitalism in the United States," Monthly Review (April, 1950).

"American Negroes and Africa," National Guardian (February 14, 1955).

"Pan-Africa: A Mission in My Life," United Asia (April, 1955).

"China and Africa," New World Review (April, 1959).

"The Negro People and the United States," Freedomways (Spring, 1961).

"The Conservation of Races," American Negro Academy (Occasional Papers II, 1897).

"The Negro and Crime," Independent (Li. 1899, 1355-7).

"The Souls of White Folk," Independent (August 18, 1910).

"The Religion of the American Negro," New World (December, 1900).

"The Value of Agitation," Voice of the Negro (IV, March, 1907).

"Marrying of Black Folk," Independent (October 13, 1910).

"The Negro and the YMCA," Horizon (March, 1910).

"The Economic Aspects of Race Prejudice," Editorial Review (May, 1916).

"The Negro Takes Stock," New Republic (Janury, 2, 1924).

"France's Black Citizens in West Africa," Current History (July, 1925).

"The Hosts of Black Labor," Nations (May 9, 1923).

"The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line," Atlantic Monthly (1901).

"Garrison and the Negro," Independent (December 7, 1905).

APPENDIX

C. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Selections from DuBois' Writings in THE CRISIS)

First editorial November 1910. "Policy toward truth and purpose."

"The Black Man and the Unions" March, 1918.

"Organized Labor" July, 1912.

"The American Federation of Labor" August 1924.

"Close Ranks" July, 1918. Support of World War I on "lesser evil" basis.

Documents of the World War (I) May and June, 1919.

"The Pan-African Congress" April, 1919.

Controversial editorial on post-war demands by Negroes, May, 1919.

Marcus Garvey, December 1920. Voluntary segregation.

"The perpetual Dilemma" April, 1917. Segregated Negro officer-training.

"Socialism and the Negro" October 1921.

"Ghandi and India" March, 1922.

"Judging Russia" February 1927. Based on his first trip to the USSR.

"The Name Negro" March, 1928. Race pride.

Scottsboro Boys editorial, September 1931. Negro and communism.

"The Depression," December 1931.

"Karl Marx and the Negro," March, 1933.

Frederick Douglass. December 1915, August 1917, February 1918.
(Saving Cedar Hill home.)

"Criteria of Negro Art," October 1926. Also Vol. 32, pp. 290-297.

"The Sin and the Holy Ghost," December 1911. Negro misleaders.

"The House of the Black Burghardts," April, 1928. Autobiography.

"A Mild Suggestion," January 1912. Morbid humor on racial self-extermination.

"Marxism and the Negro Problem," May 1933.

"The Future and Function of the Private Negro College," LIII, pp.234-6. 254. (1946)

"Three Centuries of Discrimination," LIV, pp.301-4. 379-80. (1947)

"John Hope: Scholar and Gentleman," September 1948.

"Editing the CRISIS," March 1951.

"Freeing of India," LIV, pp.301-4, 316-17. (1947)

"Truth," April 1917. THE CRISIS policy toward.

For study of self-segregation controversy editorials are essential for January, February, March, April, May, June, 1934.

"Awake," April 1917. Program and discrimination.

"Let us Reason Together," September 1919. Self defense.

"The Fruit of the Tree," September 1913. Racism.

"Refinement and Love," December 1916. Self-Defense.

"Gall of Bitterness," February 1912. THE CRISIS policy of bitter truth.

Booker T. Washington Obituary, December 1915. Fair but harshly critical.

"Education," July, 1915. Answer to Tuskeegee Machine Plan.

"The Servant in the House," April, 1912. Sanctity of labor; hostility to menial work.

"Awake America," September 1917. Asks country to enter war with clean hands.

"Social Equality," November 1911.

"Race Pride," September 1917. Militant slogans on placards in "silent parade" against lynching.

"Balls," October 1919. Negro dances. Black is beautiful.

"Divine Right," March 1912. White rape of Negro women.

"Intermarriage," February 1913.

"Philippine Mulattoes," April, 1916.

"Decency," June 1912. Re: intermarriage laws.

"Lynching a Woman," August 1912.

"Lynching an Elephant," November 1916.

"Crime and Lynching," January, 1912.

"Shabuta Lynchings," May, 1919.

February 1919, resume of lynchings in 1918.

"Southerners," November 1913. Ridicules white civilization.

"Civilization in the South," August 1916 and March 1917. Destroys pretences.

"The House of Jacob," September 1916. Attacks Southern civilization.

January 1913: DuBois' personal philosophy, "I am Resolved."

"Thanksgiving," November 1911. Thanks for being black.

"Birth of a Nation," November 1915. KKK.

"The Terrible Good," September 1916. White church and YMCA support of KKK.

"Brothers Come North," January 1920. Advocates Negro migration from South.

"Tuskeegee Resolutions," March 1917 and June 1917. On need for migration.

"Anarchism," August 1912. Chain Gangs. Class justice.

"Logic," January 1915. Chain Gangs. Class justice.

"Lies," September 1913. Chain gangs. Class justice.

"The White Christ," March 1915.

"Battle of New Orleans," March 1916. Race pride.

"Jim Crow," February 1919. Segregation.

"Colonel Charles Young," October 1917. Discrimination by military.

"Votes for Women," August 1915.

Basic Fallacy, etc., July 1915. Education.

"Episcopal Church," December 1913. Christian racism.

"Immortal Children," October 1916.

"Slaughter of Innocents," October 1918. Peace and children's welfare.

BROWNIE'S BOOK (children's magazine), September 1919 and Oct. 1919.

"American Legion," September 1919. Organization's racism.

"Jim Crow Argument," April 1913.

"Hurt Hound," April 1913. Racist America.

"Hail Columbia," April 1913. White violence against white women's suffrage marchers.

"Triumph," September 1911. Lynching with impunity. Official approval.

May 1913. Peace advocacy re: St. Louis peace convention.

"Black Bastille," September 1917. Prisons of Racism.

"The Philosophy of Mr. Dole," May 1914. Long expose of racism in America.

"Work for Black Folk," February 1914. Program.

"Keep Him in His Place," December 1916. Racist Atlanta.

"The Shifty American Bar," October 1912. Semi-official racism.

"Josiah Royce," September 1916. A white hero and Harvard teacher.

February 1920. Much on massacre of Blacks in Elaine, Arkansas.

Fisk Student Strikes, October 1924 and April and June 1925.

Civil Rights. Violation of 14th Amendment. August 1913. May 1915.

Votes for Women, support of. September 1912.

The Defeat of Judge Parker of North Carolina re: Supreme Court appointment. July 1930.

APPENDIX

D. DuBois Essays in Books Written by Others

A Selection

Annual Report of the American Historical Association (1891). "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws," 161-174.

An Anthology of American Negro Literature, ed. V.F. Calverton (1929) pp.277-298. "The Freedmen's Bureau."

Reading for Writing, ed. Ivan E. Taylor and Saunders Redding (1952) pp.50-54. "Of the Wings of Atlanta."

Booker T. Washington and His Critics, ed. Hugh Hawkins (1962) pp.27-32; 33-40. DuBois two articles on Washington.

The Democratic Spirit, ed. Bernard Smith (1941) pp.591-99. "The Souls of Black Folk."

Voices of Dissent: An Anthology of Individualist Thought in the United States, ed. Arthur A.E. Kirch, Jr. (1964) pp.195-204. "The Souls of Black Folk."

The Negro Problem, by Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois et al (1903) pp.31-75. "The Talented Tenth."

The Encyclopedia Americana. Vol. II (1904). "The Negro in America."

A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, ed. Herbert Aphteker (1951) pp.907-910. 1906 Niagara Address and other articles.

The Negro Caravan, ed. Sterling Brown (1941) pp.321-324. "A Litany at Atlanta."

The Negro in the South, by Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois (1907) pp.79-122; 125-191. Two DuBois articles on religion and economics.

A John Brown Reader, ed. Louis Ruchames (1959) pp.339-347. "A Riddle of the Sphinx."

Proceedings of the National Negro Conference (1909) pp.79-88; 142-158. Two articles by DuBois, "Evolution of Race Problem" and "Politics and History."

Papers on Inter-Racial Problems (1911) ed. G. Spiller. "The Negro in America."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: A Study in Pressure Groups, by Warren D. St. James (1958). DuBois "Documentary Reviews of NAACP Conferences 1911."

Primer for White Folks, ed. Bucklin Moon (1945). "African Culture."

These United States: A Symposium, ed. Ernest H. Gruening (1923). "Georgia: The Invisible Empire State."

The New Negro: An Interpretation, ed. Alain Locke (1925). "The Negro Mind Reaches Out."

The Foreign Affairs Reader, ed. Hamilton Fish Armstrong (1947). "Worlds of Color."

The Negro in American Civilization, ed. Charles S. Johnson (1930). "The Negro Citizen."

America as Americans See It, ed. Fred J. Ringel (1932). "Black America."

Reconstruction in the South, ed. Edwin C. Rozwenc (1952). "The Black Prolitariat in South Carolina."

The Harvard Book: Selections from Three Centuries, ed. William Bentinck-Smith (1953). "The Outer, Whiter World of Harvard."

What the Negro Wants, ed. Rayford W. Logan (1944). "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom."

The American Looks at the World, ed. Carlos H. Baker (1944). "A Voyage to Liberia."

Colonial and Colored Unity, ed. George Padmore (1945). "The Pan-African Movement."

Speaking of Peace, ed. Daniel S. Gillmor (1949). "The Future of Intellectual Freedom."

Toward a Socialist America, ed. Helen L. Alfred (1958). "The Negro and Socialism."

Jewish Life Anthology, 1946-1956, ed. Louis Harap (1956). "200 Years of Segregated Schools."

The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book, ed. A.A. Roback (1945). "The Black Man and Albert Schweitzer."

Race Prejudice and Discrimination (In U.S.A.), ed. Arnold Rose (1951). "Three Centuries of Discrimination Against the Negro."

Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, ed. G. Spiller (1911). "The Negro Rise in the United States." DuBois answer B.T.W. Lecture in England.

From Servitude to Service, Kelly Miller et al (Cambridge, 1905). DuBois article on "Atlanta."

Trust and Non Self-Governing Territories, ed. Merze Tate (1948). "A Program for Emancipation of Colonial Peoples."

APPENDIX

E. Pamphlets or Pamphlet-Type Writing

by W.E.B. DuBois

"Africa: Its Geography, People, and Products," Haldeman-Julius Blue Book, 63p. 1930.

"Africa, Its Place in History," Haldeman-Julius Blue Book, 63p. 1930.

"The Negro in the Black Belt," U.S. Department of Labor (May, 1899).

"The Negro Landholder of Georgia," U.S. Department of Labor (July, 1901).

"The Negro Farmer," U.S. Department of Labor (1904). #8 Bureau of Census.

"Disfranchisement," National Women's Suffrage Association (1912). Pro-womens Suffrage.

"Appeal to the World," (NAACP) (1947) Protest against U.S. Racism, 94p.

"The Economic Aspects of Race Prejudice," New York City Republican Club (March 5, 1910).

"Amenia Conference," Troutbeck Press (1925). 18 pages.

"Shall the Negro be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality," Chicago Forum (1929) 24 pages.

"What the Negro Has Done for the United States and Texas," U.S. Department of Commerce (1936) 10 pages.

"I Speak for Peace," American Labor Party (1950). 4 pages.

"I Take My Stand for Peace," New Masses & Mainstream (1951). 15 pages.

"Socialism Today," Afro-American Books (1964) 8 pages.

"The Story of Benjamin Franklin," Secretariat of World Council of Peace (1956) 36 pages.

"The Immortal Child--Background in Crises in Education," Afro-American Books (1964).

"The Damnation of Women--Predictions on Fatherless and Dependent Children," Afro-American Books (1964).

"A Pageant in Seven Decades," Atlanta University (1938) 44 pages.

"The Revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned," Hemphill Press, Nashville (1938) 16 pages.

"The Conservation of Races," Washington (1897) (from Occasional Papers no. 11 American Negro Academy).

"Careers Open to College-Bred Negroes," Nashville (1898). 12 pages. (two addresses delivered at Fisk University).

"The Niagara Movement, Declaration of Principles. (1905) 4 pages.

"Pan-Africanism: A Mission in My Life," pp. 23-28 (A United Asia pamphlet)

"Race Relations in the United States: An Appeal to England and Europe," (October 1910). Answer to BTW Lecture.

"Race Philosophy and Politics for Negro Life in the North," Mimeographed speech (New York 1936).

"The Future of Africa," New York (1919). Address contained in pamphlet Africa in the World Democracy (address at annual NAACP meeting).

"Heredity and the Public Schools," Washington (1904).

APPENDIX

F. BIBLIOGRAPHY: THE 21 BOOKS BY DUBOIS

1. The Suppression of the Slave Trade to the United States of America. 1896.
2. The Philadelphia Negro. 1899.
3. The Souls of Black Folk. 1903.
4. John Brown. 1909.
5. The Quest of the Golden Fleece (novel). 1911.
6. The Negro. 1915.
7. Darkwater. 1920.
8. The Gift of Black Folk. 1924.
9. Dark Princess (novel). 1928.
10. Black Reconstruction. 1935.
11. Black Folk, Then and Now. 1939.
12. Dusk of Dawn. 1940.
13. Encyclopedia of the Negro. 1945.
14. Color and Democracy. 1945.
15. The World and Africa. 1947.
16. In Battle for Peace. 1952.
17. The Ordeal of Mansart (novel). 1957.
18. Mansart Builds a School (novel). 1959.
19. Worlds of Color (novel). 1960.
20. The A B C of Color. 1963.
21. Autobiography. 1968.

NOTE: 16 monographs on Negro in the South edited by Dr. DuBois as the "Atlanta Studies" published 1899-1912 and reprinted in one volume by THE NEW YORK TIMES (Arno Press) 1968.

APPENDIX

G. BIOGRAPHY

(BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS)

W.E.B. DuBois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest. By Elliot M. Rudwick. Full-length biography. 1960. University of Pennsylvania Press.

W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis. By Francis L. Broderick. Full-length biography. Stanford University Press, 1959.

Prophet in Limbo. By Truman Nelson. Nation, Vol.180, No.6, 1958.

Portrait: W.E. Burghardt DuBois. By J. Saunders Redding. American Scholar, Vol. 18, 1949.

Negro Leadership Since Washington. By Dr. Horace Mann Bond. South Atlantic Quarterly, April 1925.

A Tribute to W.E. Burghardt DuBois. By William Stanley Braithwaite. Phylon, Fourth Quarter, 1949.

W.E.B. DuBois: The First Eighty Years. By Dr. Herbert Aphteker. Phylon, Spring 1948.

Eulogy of W.E.B. DuBois Delivered by Martin Lurther King, Jr. Carnegie Hall, February 28, 1968. New York City. Reprinted in Freedomways and as pamphlet by W.E.B. DuBois Memorial Committee.

W.E.B. DuBois and the Black Messianic Vision. By Dr. Vincent Harding. Freedomways, Spring 1929.

Cultural Contribution of W.E.B. DuBois. By Dr. Ernest Kaiser, Schomburg Collection New York Public Library, 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City.

A Selected Bibliography of the Published Writings of W.E.B. DuBois. By Dr. Ernest Kaiser of Schomburg Collection. Published in Freedomways (special DuBois issue) Winter 1965.

W.E.B. DuBois Memorial Issue of Freedomways, Winter 1965. Collection of biographical materials on DuBois.

The Crisis. February 1968. (Issue devoted to W.E.B. DuBois).

APPENDIX

H. BIOGRAPHY

(COLLEGE THESES ABOUT DUBOIS)

W.E.B. DuBois: The Trail of His Ideas. Francis Broderick, Harvard University, 1955. Doctoral.

W.E.B. DuBois' Views on Education. L.M. Collins, M.A. thesis, Fisk University, 1937.

Politico-Economic Theories of Three Negro Leaders. B. J. Franklin, M.A. Howard University, 1936.

The Social Theories of W.E.B. DuBois, Arthur L. Johnson, M.A., Atlanta University, 1949.

The Effect of the Negro Press on Race Relationships in the South. Dewey R. Jones, M.A. Fisk University, 1944.

A Study of the Literary Subject-Matter of the Crisis. Carrie C. Robinson, M.A. Fisk University, 1934.

W.E. Burghardt DuBois: A Case Study of a Marginal Man. Dorothy E. Owens, M.A. Fisk University, 1944.

The N.A.A.C.--A Study in Social Pressure. James E. Pierce, M.A. Ohio State University, 1933.

The Rise of Protest Movements Among Negroes Since 1900. Robert H. Brisbane. Doctor. Harvard University, 1949.

Accommodation and Militancy in Negro Life 1870-1915. Jack Abromowitz. Doctor. Columbia University, 1931.

W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership. Elliot M. Rudwick, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1956.

W.E.B. DuBois As A Man of Letters. Mary M. Drake, M.A., Fisk University, 1934.